BRITISH INDIA
ANALYZED.

THE
PROVINCIAL AND REVENUE
ESTABLISHMENTS
OF
TIPPOO SULTAUN
AND OF
MAHOMEDAN AND BRITISH
CONQUERORS in HINDOSTAN,
STATED AND CONSIDERED.
IN THREE PARTS.

PART III.

Invitus ea, tanquam vulnera attingo, sed nisi tacta tractataque sanari non possunt. Liv. lib. 28.

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BRITISH INDIA.

PART III.

DEDUCTIONS

FROM THE

HISTORY

OF

MAHOMEDAN AND EUROPEAN

CONQUERORS.

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ERRATA.

Title to PART II.

Motto, for *habes* read *habeo.*

PART III.

Page 603, line 11, for *escaped a defile* read *a defile which led to*
668, — 11, for *tables* read *table.*
679, — 14, for *with adherent* read *and their adherents*
711, — 21, for *dependance* read *independence*
726, — 13, for *Nixam* read *Nizam*
730, — 13, for *tha the* read *that he*
736, — 15, for *shewt hem* read *shew them*
739, — 11, for *dte rmined* read *determined*
749, — 1, for *distrist* read *districts*
804, — 16, for *granadiers* read *grenadiers*
806, — 14, for *circumstanue* read *circumstance*
814, — 9, for *engsins* read *ensigns*
824, — 7, for *extract* read *distracts*
830, — 7, for *expectations* read *expectation*
851, — 3, for *adventurers* read *adventures*
856, — 20, for *appears* read *appear*
857, — 25, after *limited* insert *period of*
882, — 4, for *the King's* read *the King to*
888, — 10, for *are* read *is*
908, — 1, for *nda* read *and*
910, head, for 110 read 910
— line, 10, for *Bitish* read *British*
— note, for *omne* read *omni*
924, line, 8, for *Cotbut* read *Cotbat*
931, — 7, for *juridiction* read *jurisdiction*
— last line, for *et* read *in*
936, note, for *dessert* read *differt*
939, — 17, for *Zavier* read *Xavier.*

CHAP. XV.

The Progress of the Connection of the English *with* British India.

TO form a true estimate of the opinion, in which the natives in *India* and the *British* nation may be induced to coincide as to the treaties and arrangements of past times, at present urged so strongly, and by the highest authority, on the feelings and honour of the nation, as prejudices deeply rooted in the minds and affections of the natives of *India*, as before stated *, I shall cursorily state the sentiments and circumstances of the contracting parties.

When the Empire of *Hindostan* † was invaded, and in part conquered by the *Mogul Tartars* about the beginning of the 15th century, many of the *Rajahs*, or *Hindoo*

* Introduction, page xxxix.

† *Holwell*, Interesting Historical Events, p. 103.

Princes of the country ſubmitted, with little oppoſition, to the invaders, on condition of holding their lands and principalities, paying a ſtipulated annual tribute; but others of them, diſdaining this tributary ſtate of ſlavery, retired to the ſouthward, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the moſt ſouthern parts of the *Decan*, they remained unmoleſted, until about the year 1654, the latter end of the reign of the Emperor *Shaw Jehawn*. His third ſon, *Aurengzebe*, being at that time *Soubah* of the *Decan*, or South, made a fruitleſs attempt on *Golconda*, inſtigated thereto by *Mhir Jemla*, who revolted to him from the then reigning *Rajah* of that famous city and adjoining country.

Aurengzebe ſucceeding to the Throne of *Hindoſtan* in the year 1659, purſued, by his generals, his former deſigns againſt the independant *Rajahs* on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, guided chiefly by the council and inſtructions of *Mhir Jemla*, by whoſe valour *Golconda* was reduced, and the whole coaſt ſubdued, from *Ganjam* to *Coleroon* river, that is, from the latitude of 11°40 to 19° 30 north.

The other promontory of *India*, called the coaſt of *Malabar*, from the borders of the province *Guzarat* to cape *Cormorin*, was never conquered by the *Mogul* Emperors, but the independant poſſeſſion of it was maintained by various *Rajahs*, the chief of whom was the *Rajah* of *Sittarah* : to theſe independant princes the diſtreſſed and diſpoſſeſſed *Rajahs* of *Coromandel* applied for ſuccour. They, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the *Mogul* arms, immediately united themſelves under the banners of the *Rajah* of *Sittarah*.

Theſe united princes and people were collectively known by the name of *Mahrattahs*, a word compounded of *Rattor* and *Maaba*, the firſt being the name of a particular *Raazpoot* tribe, and the latter ſignifying great or mighty, as explained by Mr. *Fraſer*.

The acquiſitions thus gained to the empire by the generals of *Aurengzebe*, coſt ſo much blood and treaſure, that the diamond mines of *Golconda* hardly proved an equivalent ; for the confederate princes made

ſuch vigorous efforts to regain what they had loſt, and *Aurengzebe* was obliged to keep up ſo large an armament, that the expence of preſerving his new conqueſt exceeded the whole revenues acquired by it. The glorious vanity of having carried the conqueſt of the empire farther than any of his predeceſſors, determined him not to abandon them, until, at laſt, finding he ſhould riſque the loſs of the whole, he began to meditate coming to a treaty with them, which reſolution was haſtened by ſeveral bold attacks of the *Mahrattahs*, made on different parts of his dominions at the ſame time. On the ſide of his new ſouthern acquiſitions they carried fire and ſword, ſometimes into the province of *Dowlatabad*, and attacked the capital *Aurenjabad*, and from *Sittarah* they penetrated through the province of *Guzerat*, and ſometimes alarmed even the Court of *Delhi*, ſtriking a panic wherever they came.

Aurengzebe, ſeeing at length no proſpect of extending his conqueſts farther over theſe intrepid natives, thought it a wiſe meaſure to ſecure and keep, if poſſible, what he had got. To this end he entered

into a treaty with the confederate *Rajahs*, and, by a secret valuable consideration given to the *Sehoo Rajah*, King of *Sittarah*, a peace was concluded on the following terms: " That *Aurengzebe* should remain in quiet possession of his southern conquests as far as the river *Coleroon* and the port *Surat*, and that in lieu thereof, the *Mahrattahs* should receive and be entitled to, for ever, a *Chout*, or fourth part of the revenues of the *Decan*, to which *Soubahship* these new southern conquests were annexed by the Emperor."

Thus a period was put to a war, that had chiefly employed the attention of near two thirds of *Aurengzebe*'s long and fortunate reign, by which so important an addition of territory and revenue was obtained, that had it been duly and honestly governed and administered, and the treaty kept inviolate on both sides, would have yielded a perpetual source of riches to all succeeding Emperors on every emergency of the state.

As long as *Aurengzebe* lived, the *Chout*

was duly paid to the *Mahrattahs*; but on his deceafe the treaty began to be infringed, though it fuffered no open rupture until the death of *Shaw Allum*, when the empire falling into a ftate of univerfal confufion, by the contentions that arofe between his fons for the fucceffion to the throne, and by the fubfequent diftractions during the defpotic tyranny of the *Seyds*, little regard was paid to it on the part of the Government.

Things being in this fituation, the *Mahrattahs* determined to pay themfelves by making incurfions on different fides of the empire, laying the city of *Surat* under contribution; in which warfare they met with fuch fuccefs from the continued pufillanimity and diftraction of the government, that at length they extended their claim and demand from the ftipulated *Chout* of the revenues of the *Decan*, to a *Chout* of the whole revenues of the empire.

When *Mahomed Shaw*, by the overthrow of the *Seyds* in 1719, attained fecure poffeffion of the throne, fome check was put

to their invaſions, and terms of accommodation being made with them, they, for ſome years, acquieſced to the terms of *Aurengzebe's* treaty, and annually received the *Chout* of the revenues of the *Decan* by their agents, out of the royal treaſury at *Delhi*, long after theſe revenues had loſt their way to court, by the uſurpation and independance of the traitor *Nizam Ul Moolk*.

In 1740 the deputies of *King Sittarah* arrived as uſual at *Delhi*, to receive the *Chout*; when they were given to underſtand "that *Nadir Shaw* had lately exhauſted the treaſury, and the Emperor was rendered utterly incapable of ſatisfying their demands; the more eſpecially, as the revenues of the *Bengal* provinces had been withheld from the year 1738 by the rebellion of *Aliverdi Khan*, who, in conjunction with his brother *Hodjee Hamet*, had uſurped that *Soubahdarry*, requeſting that the deputies would intreat their maſter in the Emperor's name to ſend an army, ſufficient to exact the amount of the *Chout* that was due to them; and alſo to take the heads of

Aliverdi and his brother, and restore the family of *Soujah Khan* to the *Soubahship*, as the then distracted state of the empire put it out of his power to send a sufficient force to reduce the two rebels." The *King* of *Sittarah* immediately sent an army of 80,000 horse into *Bengal*, by the western hills of *Bierboheen*. *Aliverdi Khan* was then at *Cattack* reducing *Orissa*, and by forced marches reached near *Burdwan*, two days after the *Mahrattahs* had taken possession of it. He there received *Bosekhar Pundit*'s demands of "three years arrear of *chout*, the treasuries of the two late *Soubahs*; and the appointment of an officer of their own to have a seat in every *Cutcherry* throughout the provinces to collect the *fourth* part of the customs on their behalf." *Aliverdi* received the proposition with indignation, and determined to force his way through the enemy and to join his brother; the *Bengal* troops beginning to desert, he did not delay: his principal dependance was on the *Patans*, and he succeeded in forcing a passage with much slaughter through the enemy, and gained the *Cutwah* road, in the course of which they

they effected a most memorable retreat of near three days and nights, being often surrounded and attacked on all sides by the *Mahrattah* army, and as often repulsing and forcing their passage, until they arrived at *Cutwah* with only 2500 *Patans* and 1500 *Bengal* soldiers, kept firm to their duty by the example of the *Patans* and the intrepid behaviour of their *Jemmautdar*, *Jaffier Khan*. They were surrounded, and crossed a river deemed unfordable; escaped a defile; the river being gallantly defended by *Mustapha Khan*, *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, and *Jaffier Khan*, with 80 *Patans*, against the whole army; and when they judged the *Soubah* had safely passed the river, this gallant band retreated gradually, and, though pressed by the enemy, made good their passage of the river and joined the *Soubah* *. The *Mahrattahs*, after plundering the country, began to retire with the treasure, to secure their retreat before the rains of June set in. When the rains broke up about the end of September, they returned: the consternation of the inha-

* *Holwell*, Interesting Events, p. 119.

bitants made them ſeek ſafety on the Eaſt ſide of the *Ganges.* It is obſerved by Mr. *Holwell,* * that the manufactures of the *Aurungs* received ſo injurious a blow at this period, that they have ever ſince loſt their original purity and eſtimation, and probably will never recover them. *Aliverdi,* unable to protect his country againſt the *Mahrattah* cavalry, or to bring them to any deciſive action, reſolved to treat; the overture only brought forth a demand, that *Soujah Khan*'s family ſhould be reſtored. Hoſtilities were continued; at laſt the uſurper propoſed a conference with *Boſchar Pundit*; 200 armed men had been concealed between the double lining of the ſpacious tent, erected between the two armies, and the *Mahrattah* General and his attendants were murdered. The *Mahrattahs* elected a new General, and they continued their ravages from the beginning of December 1742 to February 1743. Every art and endeavour to bring them to a battle proved ineffectual; at length, by aſtoniſhing bravery and perſeverance, he obliged them to

* *Holwell,* Intereſting Events, p. 124.

repair to their general rendezvous, and they retired over the *Bierboom* hills to *Sittarah*. They had no ſooner retreated than the uſurper was alarmed by another army of *Mahrattahs* entering the provinces by the way of *Cuttack*, commanded by *Rogajee*, and that a third army, commanded by *Ballajee Row*, had penetrated within a day or two's march of *Siclygully*; each army conſiſted of 60,000 horſe; the firſt ſent by *Sittarah* to enforce the orders given to *Boſchar Pundit*, the latter to join *Rogajee*, and avenge the murder of *Boſchar Pundit*. The armies joined in March, 1743, and the uſurper, unable to cope with ſuch force, opened a ſucceſsful negociation, through the means of *Seſſarow*, a *Mahrattah* priſoner, who had influence over *Ballajee Row*, to whom he was related. He agreed to cede to *Ballajee Row* alone the *Chout* of two years, and *Ballajee Row* engaged to ſatisfy *Rogajee*, or join the uſurper to drive *Rogajee* and his army out of the provinces. *Ballajee Row* retired with his army, and left *Rogajee* to ſhift for himſelf; this General immediately took poſſeſſion of *Oriſſa*; he ſent thither, with the title and authority of

General, *Mhir Nubbeb*, who had been collector of the revenues at *Dacca*, and to avoid anſwering his mal-adminiſtration to *Aliverdi*, had joined *Boſchar Pundit*, and continued high in the confidence of *Rogajee*. The uſurper employed all April and May without being able to bring *Rogajee* to a general action, and the rains ſetting in earlier than uſual, both armies went into quarters; the *Mahrattahs* remaining in quiet poſſeſſion of *Oriſſa* and all the country on the weſtern ſhore of the *Hoogbly* river, from *Ballaſore* to within a few miles of *Tanna*'s *Fort*, near the *Engliſh* ſettlement of *Fort William*. The armies of *Aliverdi* retired to *Moorſhedabad*, and *Rogajee* with his main army to *Bierboom*, during the rains. It is not neceſſary to relate the events which ſucceeded each other till the year 1750, when at length a laſting peace was made with the *Mahrattahs*; *Aliverdi* alſo defeated the *Patans* and his beſt generals, who had revolted during that period of public calamity.

It muſt be ſuppoſed that the trade of the *Europeans* muſt have been greatly embar-

raſſed and injured, their effects plundered by the enemy, and theſe misfortunes much heightened by oppreſſive exactions of the uſurper; but foreigners then participated of oppreſſion, in great meaſure occaſioned by neceſſity. Though *Aliverdi* had poſſeſſed the treaſures of the *three* laſt *Soubahs*, yet ſo immenſe were his continual expences and diſburſements that little of them remained; for it is pretty well known that the retreat of *Ballajee Row* was not purchaſed for leſs than 5 *crores* of rupees *, though 22 *lacks* for two years *Chout* only were acknowledged. The ſcene of deſolation, treachery, and murder in which *Aliverdi* vigorouſly ſupported his uſurpation cannot but excite commiſeration, and the admiration of his intrepidity, conſtancy, and addreſs.

This recapitulation of the revolutions in *Bengal* will introduce the reader to the financial view of the *Bengal* provinces under the Company's government †, and alſo

* Hiſtorical Events, p. 152.

† Vide p. 313.

the political view of the period in which *Clive* recovered the *British* ſettlements in 1757, and inveſted with the dignity of *Soubah*, *Jaffier Khan*, who ſo long had ſupported the military glory of *Aliverdi Khan*; and from that time he was commonly known by the name *Meer Jaffier*.

When the *Madras* Government inveſted *Clive* with powers independant of the Governor and Council of *Fort William*, it was on the conviction of the *French* and *Engliſh* being on the eve of a war in *Europe*; and they ordered *Clive*, when he had reſtored the *Engliſh* to their poſſeſſions, by defeating *Serajah Dowla*, to reſign that independant power, and return to *Madras*. The Government and Council of *Madras* had ſent poſitive orders to him to return with part of his forces after the capture of *Chandenagore*; not knowing the cauſe, they could not account for his diſobedience; the conſequences to which he expoſed himſelf in caſe of miſcarriage could not eſcape him; under this difficulty he began his march to dethrone *Serajah Dowla*. *Meer Jaffier* and other chiefs had ſettled with Mr. *Watts* to

declare and join their forces; when *Clive* advanced they hesitated; a council of war decided against making an attack with the *English* force alone; after this, *Jaffier* sent word that he had sworn to *Serajah Dowla* on the *Koran* not to fight against them, therefore he could not assist him, but would not act against the *English*; *Clive* determined to attempt it, and with his small army obtained a complete victory.

When *Clive* settled the treaty with *Meer Jaffier*, and invested him with the dignity of *Soubah* as a reward for his treachery to *Serajah Dowla*, the ability and decision of *Clive* were manifested in obtaining his con sent to certain conditions under which the Company could enjoy all its former privileges, and a farther security suited to the unsettled state of the provinces; *Clive* was then obliged to negociate and even purchase from *Meer Jaffier* concessions which would have baffled all his success if they had been made original conditions. On his return to *Europe*, among other charges, a loan of £.25,000 to *Meer Jaffier* was adduced, which he justified in the follow-

ing words*: "The real fact is, (if I may be supposed to know it, who then presided over the Company's affairs in *Bengal*,) by the ninth article of the treaty with the *Nabob*, the Company's possessions would have been of little consequence to them unless we were allowed to put not only our own construction on the words of the article, but also to have an *additional* quantity of land to the northward, to the amount of near £.12,000 *per annum*: in order to accomplish this, we not only were obliged to comply with the *Nabob*'s request, made at that particular time, but also to make presents to several of the principal officers about him to engage his consent to this grant, which he was not bound to make by treaty. I *believe* the Directors know very well, if not, I am *sure* the Governor and Council are well apprized of what consequence it was to the Company to obtain the lands north of *Calcutta*. I will venture to affirm, had the *Nabob* desired a loan of money at any other time but this, his request would not have been complied

* *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1764, p. 26.

with. The unfortunate *Meer Jaffier* was a ſtranger to diſtreſs until I had left the country; it was when the *King*'s ſon and a large body of *Mahrattahs* invaded and ravaged his country for a twelvemonth together, and had ſtopt the receipt of great part of his revenues; it was then the *Nabob* began, for the firſt time, to experience the misfortune of diſtreſs; yet it was not ſo great, but his ſucceſſor was able immediately to beſtow on the Company *eight lacks*, to carry on the war on the coaſt of *Coromandel*."

There can be very little doubt but *Meer Jaffier* intended to be in fact the *Soubah*, independant of the *Mogul*, by the aid of the *Engliſh*. Governor *Holwell* certainly had not diſguiſed his opinion, that the Company ought to be *Soubah*, in one of his letters to Colonel Caillaud, dated June 14, 1760*. "Had it ever been my wiſh or intention to have taken our ſupport from the preſent *Nabob*, and transfer it to another, your arguments in that caſe would

* *Holwell's India* Tracts, p. 51.

have all the weight with me they ſo greatly merit; but I think on the repreſentations in mine to you, and the copy of mine to Mr. *Amyat*, you will ſee that it was not my aim, for I concur minutely with your objections to ſuch a ſtep, and am clear we ſhould not mend our ſituation by a revolution in favour of any other, who would, you truely obſerve, prove as bad as the preſent, and probably worſe; but my views for the Company went much higher.— That the country will never be in a ſettled peaceful ſtate, while this family is at the head, is a poſition I lay down as inconteſtible; and that, until the country enjoys that ſtate, the Company's affairs muſt be daily approaching to certain ruin: I therefore judge we could never be poſſeſſed of a more favourable opportunity to carry into execution, what muſt be done, I plainly ſee, one time or other, (if the Company have ever a ſecure footing in the provinces), to wit, take this country into their own hands; limiting ourſelves to the province of *Bengal* only, or extending our views to thoſe of *Bahar* and *Orixa*, as on future debate might be thought moſt eligi-

ble. The ſituation of the Prince (*Mogul*), at preſent, is ſuch, that I am ſure he would readily and heartily hearken to any overture from us; and, without heſitation, grant a *Phirmaund*, appointing the Company perpetual *Soubahs* of the country; his two *Phirmaunds* to me, as I before adviſed you, offered a *Carte Blanche* for the Company, and I dare ſay the one to you was of the ſame tenor."

Without entering into the conteſt of the parties of that day, it is evident that treaties, or reports of treaties alarmed the Governor of *Calcutta*; that the retreat of *Abdallah* before the *Vizir* encouraged *Meer Jaffier* to ſeek the aid of 30,000 *Mahrattahs*, at that time, aſſembled in two bodies; the one in *Cattack*, and the other at *Sitanagur* *; and the aſſiſtance of the *Vizir*, to drive *Shah Zadda* from the provinces; it was determined to remove *Meer Jaffier*: when obliged to abdicate, he ſaid "that he was betrayed; that the *Engliſh* were guilty of perjury and breach of faith; that he

* Letter of Mr. *Haſtings*, June 1760.

perceived their deſigns againſt his Government; and he had friends enow to hazard, at leaſt, one battle in his defence; but although no oaths were ſacred enough to bind the *Engliſh*, yet, as he had ſworn to be their friend, he would never ſwerve from his engagements, but rather ſuffer death than draw his ſword againſt them. This at leaſt muſt be called an evaſion of treaty. *Meer Coſſim*, recommended by Governor *Holwell* and Mr. *Haſtings* in 1760 *, as a noble, good, and brave man, to ſucceed the *Nabob*, was proclaimed *Soubah*, when they forced *Meer Jaffier*, his father-in-law, to reſign the Government; he alſo had ſoon occaſion to expreſs himſelf to Mr. *Vanſittart*, in a letter dictated by a ſenſe of the deepeſt injuries. " Sir, though it is agreed by the treaty between us, that I ſhould never ſay any thing in behalf of the ſervants or dependants of the Company, nor you gentlemen interfere in behalf of the ſervants and dependants of the *Nizamut*; yet you gentlemen have regarded all this as utterly ob-

* *Vanſittart*, Vol. I. p. 75, *Nabob*'s Letter to Mr. *Holwell*, p. 40.

literated, and in contradiction thereto persist in the violation of the treaty, and desire to raise *your own name* and establish *your own customs*. I am remediless *."

The *Nabob*, however, took the true and sensible mode to save his country, when he could not save his revenue; this he stated in answer to Messrs. *Amyatt* and *Hays*'s demands in the following words: "As I have nothing to do with customs or duties on any kind of goods from any merchant whatever, and have wholly exempted them for two years to come, ye may engage in whatever trade ye please; nor will any meddle or interfere therein; after the time of exemption is expired, every officer will *again interfere* for duties; then ye will prove your rights from grants, and I will answer you †." At this period, it is evident that the Company could not legally raise a shilling by *customs* on the country, and their relation to their fellow subjects

* *Vansittart*, Vol. III. p. 206, *Nabob*'s Letter, May 2, 1763.

† Ibid, Vol. III. 229.

was limited by their Charter and Parliament. This refolution however was the crifis; and this act of rebellion was the fignal for a revolution which plunged the provinces in war, and reftored *Meer Jaffier* to the Government.

Meer Coffim deferves, at leaft, juftice in the page of hiftory; his government deferves the clofe and impartial examination of the Board of Control; the revenues of *Great Britain* in *Britifh India* ftand on the foundation which he maintained; and the Company cannot ferve their own intereft and the intereft of the public in *Europe* and in *India*, unlefs it forgets its own pretenfions, and faithfully difcharges its agency of the cuftoms on behalf of the State; by which, as I have before obferved, a good fyftem of impofts can alone be eftablifhed and fimplified.

I fhall proceed to inveftigate, in a few more examples, the degree of weight which the contracting parties in *India* gave to the treaties, becaufe this year they are not confidered as objects of regret, but are

recommended to the humanity and the juſtice of the *Britiſh* nation *, by the high authority of Mr. *Dundas*, by the plans for *India*, and by Mr. *Ruſſell.*

It is clearly ſtated in Mr. *Amyatt*'s minute †, " The *Sunnuds* by which we hold our late acquiſitions are only *Tuncaws*, or an aſſignment of theſe provinces, towards the defraying the expences of a certain body of troops, to be kept up for the aſſiſtance of the *Nabob.* In the preſent temper of the *Nabob*, this, ſo weak a title, can hardly fail of proving a freſh ſource of diſpute; he already ſhews a total diſinclination to the uſe of our troops, and may, whenever he thinks himſelf in a condition to call our right in queſtion, tell us he has no longer occaſion for them, therefore will withdraw that revenue; to prevent ſuch pleas on the part of the *Soubah*, and to eſtabliſh our rights to theſe lands as to *Jageers*, by the fulleſt and moſt *authentic*

* Introduction, p. xxxii.

† *Vanſittart*, Vol. II. p. 269. Mr. *Amyatt*'s Minute, 15th February, 1763.

Sunnuds, and ſuch that hereafter may be ever indiſputable, ſhould other *European nations* come to take part in the affairs of *Bengal*, ſeems a point extremely requiſite to be now conſidered: the Company, for want of this matter being clearly explained, moſt probably ſuppoſe that the *preſent Sunnuds* are of the moſt extenſive and indiſputable kind, whereas, in fact, *our force* more than *title* can ſupport us in the poſſeſſion of them." We have a farther confirmation of the real importance of the native grants at that time, in a note of Governor *Vanſittart* to the above minute *. "The nature of the *grants* by which the Company poſſeſs thoſe lands is of very little moment; it is by the treaty with the *Nabob* they are ceded, and as long as that treaty of friendſhip and alliance ſubſiſts, *he* cannot diſpute their right; if a breach of that friendſhip happens, and a war break out, he will diſpoſſeſs us if he is able, and that he would if we had the *King*'s *Firmaund*; therefore the form of the grant is

* *Vanſittart*, Vol. II. p. 269. Mr. *Amyatt*'s Minute, 15th February, 1763.

of no consequence; and this will be found to be the opinion of *all* the Council when they entered into a new treaty with *Meer Jaffier*, at which time none of them thought there was any necessity of demanding *Jaghire Sunnuds*."

It appears, however, from the negociations with *Meer Jaffier*, that the Company's servants required grants more extensive than *Jageer* in behalf of the Company; and "*Meer Jaffier* objected to the words, 'that the three provinces shall be invested in the Company for ever;' alledging that, in fact, it is not material to the Company, as any future *Nabob*, who was inclined and able to dispute the Company's possessions, might insist it was a cession which he had no right to make; and that the same might be objected to his prejudice by the *King* if he comes to be established at *Delhi*, and therefore desire the article may remain as formerly *." The testimony of Lord *Clive* † does not invalidate

* *Vansittart's* Narrative, Vol. III. p. 356.
† Letter to the Proprietors of *East-India* Stock, 1764.

this ſtatement; he informs the Proprietors, that when the *Nabob Meer Jaffier*, in 1759, notified by *Jagger Seat* that he was made an *Omrah*, he inquired where the *Jageer* uſually annexed to that dignity was located, to which he was anſwered, that the *Nabob* never granted *Jageers* in *Bengal*, that *Oriſſa* was too poor, but that he might have one in *Bahar*; but it was only after the ſucceſs of the *Engliſh* over the King's ſon he was informed of the amount, and that it was granted in *Bengal.* Lord *Clive* obſerves, " It gave me the greater pleaſure to find it to be the *lordſhip* of the Company's lands, becauſe the Company was thereby freed from all dependance on Government." " The lands ceded to the Company by the ninth article of the treaty with *Meer Jaffier* were only ceded as perpetual *Zemindars*, or renters, the *Nabob* reſerving the lordſhip and quit-rent, which amounted to £.30,000 a year, and the Company could never be lawfully diſpoſſeſſed ſo long as they continued to pay that quit-rent." It was then the lordſhip and rents ſo reſerved that the *Nabob* tranſferred to Lord *Clive*, and no prejudice

arofe to the Company's revenue*; the grant paffed all the ufual forms of the country, was founded on the very fame authority with that the Company had for all their acquifitions, the *power of a Soubah*; yet in May, 1764, the Directors apply the reafoning of Mr. *Amyatt*'s minute to fufpend the payment of Lord *Clive*'s *Jageer*. Mr. *Sullivan* informed the Prefident of *Fort William*, "that all cordiality being at an end with Lord *Clive*, the Court of Directors had ftopped payment of the *Jageer*;" and in effect the Directors ordered this *Jageer* to be carried to their *own* account, and announce that his Lordfhip's pretenfions fhall be fettled in *London*; on which Lord *Clive* obferves, "the Directors at once boldly affirm my *Jageer* to be determined by the removal of *Meer Jaffier* from the throne, fince the grant, as they alledge, did not bind his fucceffor, without the leaft confideration of the natural inference fuch an affertion would produce †."

* Letter to the Proprietors of *Eaft-India* Stock, p. 36.

† Ibid. p. 52.

It was not therefore without reaſon Lord *Clive*, on his return to *India*, in 1765, was impreſſed with the arbitrary diſtinctions in the conſtruction of a *Soubah's* grants acquired for the *Engliſh*, grants from the *Mogul* of all the territory in which the *Britiſh* armies had diſputed the power of *France* and of uſurpers. But we are now told that humanity calls on *Great Britain* to attend to the feelings and prejudices of the natives, by giving effect to treaties they underſtand, and which are connected with their well-being; to this error I ſhall only adduce the teſtimony of the Governor and Select Committee of *Bengal* to the Directors, January 31, 1766. "To us it evidently appears, there remained but the alternative to advance as we have done and graſp at the whole power, or ſhrink back into our primitive condition of ſimple merchants; to abandon our poſſeſſions, diſband our forces, and reſt our future hopes on the clemency of Princes who will not eaſily forget or forgive the ſuperiority we have maintained; in a word, this laſt meaſure was impracticable, for we muſt obſerve, although with much regret, that

the mifconduct of individuals hath rendered the *Englifh* name fo *odious*, that we are no longer fecure than while our hands are armed for the defence of our lives and properties *."

The ceremony with which the Company was invefted with the *Dewanne*, is ftated by the gentlemen who were fent from *Calcutta* for that purpofe, in a letter to the Select Committee, dated April 30, 1766. "We thought it by no means adviseable to deviate, upon flight occafions, from the eftablifhed forms and cuftoms of the anniverfary of the *Poonah*, and, therefore, accepted, for ourfelves and for you, the ufual prefents of a drefs and *elephant* to each; which fhall be forwarded by the firft opportunity. This expence hath formerly been charged to the Government; it muft therefore now be brought to the Company's account; but, as the amount is very inconfiderable, it is fcarce worth while to introduce any innovation to leffen our dig-

* Appendix to the Report of the *Eaft-India* Company, 1772, No. 46.

nity in the eyes of the people*." After which the ſeal of the Company's Government bore an inſcription, of which the following is a tranſlation:

"The Magnificent Merchants of the *Eaſt-India* Company; the *Dewans* of the Magnificent Provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Oriſſa*; Servants of the Bold King, *Shaw Allum* †."

On the 30th September, 1765, Lord *Clive* had given an account of his ſucceſs to the Directors; in which he clearly defines the conditions and the benefit of his arangement. He ſays, "The allowance for the ſupport of the *Nabob*'s dignity and power, and the tribute to his Majeſty, muſt be regularly paid; the remainder belongs to the Company:" but, in May 1770, the *Bengal* Select Committee conſidered the propriety of curtailing theſe allowances, on account of the famine. "It appearing

* *Eaſt-India* Reports, Vol. II. p. 18.

† Ibid. Vol. I. p. 161. A Short Hiſtory of *Engliſh* Tranſactions from 1756 to 1763.

to the Committee highly neceſſary and reaſonable, that the tribute, ſtipends, and all extraordinary iſſues whatever, ſhould give place to the more urgent calls of Government;" and the letter to *Richard Becher*, Eſq. then Reſident at the *Durbar*, convey the order: "With concern we obſerve the great and alarming diſproportion of your receipts to your diſburſements; and, at the ſame time, we lament the calamities of the country. In conjunctures like this, neceſſity compells us to make the conveniences of dependants, and even the letter of engagements, ſubſervient to the exigences of the ſtate;" "It would be a ridiculous and unprecedented maxim to regard any *tribute* or ſtipend before the ſupport of our own Government; the exact ſum which ſhould be withheld from each article, we would not preciſely determine, but we expect you will, at leaſt, keep back 30 lacks, between this period and the 17th of October *;" and the Directors in 1771 confirm this principle, and order

* Appendix, Report of Committee of Secrecy, 1772, No. 4.

farther reduction of the Ministers' allowances. "At a time when every *justifiable* measure should be adopted, for availing the public and the Company of all the advantages, we had in prospect, from the possession of the *Dewannee*, we cannot but reflect on the dissipation of a considerable part thereof by the allowances to the *Nabob*'s Ministers, &c *."

These instances may suffice. I shall, however, add two observations which will farther illustrate the circumstances of the provinces, at the periods separately considered in the preceding review of the financial arrangements of the Company.

When the *East-India* Company in 1698, asserted the pretensions which Mr. *Russell* has revived, they informed Parliament, that, in some royal charters, they had been denominated *Lords Proprietors* of *Bombay* and *St. Helena*, possessions vested in the Crown, as Dower to the Queen of Charles the Second. The total produce of

* Appendix, Report of Committee of Secrecy, 1772, No. 2.

thoſe ſettlements and the factories of Fort *George*, Fort *St. Davids*, *Bengal*, *Sumatra*, and *Perſia*, including cuſtoms, and *licences* to ſell ſpirituous liquors, amounted to 44,000l *.

In 1760 the Company's military and other charges in *Bengal* amounted to 200,000l. *per annum*, and their net revenue did not exceed 80,000l †.

In the preſent year, the net ſum of the landed eſtates and cuſtoms of the Company, viz. *Calcutta* and its *Pergunnahs*, *Madras* and its *Jageer*, the five Northern *Circars*, the Iſlands of *Bombay* and *St. Helena*, *Cuddalore*, *Pinang*, and *Bencoolen*, are ſtated by Mr. *Ruſſell* ‡ and by Mr. *Dundas* § to produce a groſs income of 500,000l. a year, or 400,000l. a year net income, being at leaſt 250,000l. a year,

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698, and *Anderſon's* Hiſtory of Commerce.

† *Vanſittart*.

‡ Short Hiſtory, p. 36.

§ Parliamentary Debates, 1793, and Sketch of Mr. *Dundas's* Speech referred to, Introduction, p. xxxix.

after allowing its due proportion for the general defence. Mr. *Ruſſell* confines his inquiry to the merits which relate to the town, port, and diſtrict of *Maſſulipatam*, and to the five Northern *Circars*, from a perſuaſion that they will be found intrinſically of the firſt importance, among the other claims with which they are claſſed; and, becauſe by an inveſtigation and diſcuſſion of the merits whereon the legal right to theſe diſtricts ſeem to depend, it is not improbable but ſome rule or principle may be eſtabliſhed with regard to all, or ſome of the others *. Accordingly we find that the groſs rent of the Northern

Circars is eſtimated by Mr. *Ruſſell* † at - - - - - -	240,000
The *Guntoor Circar*, at - -	90,000
	330,000
From which groſs rent he deducts the net rent paid to the *Nizam* - - - - - -	70,000
There remains therefore groſs rent	260,000

* Short Hiſtory, page 54.

† Ibid. page 34.

I have already ſhewn * the amount of the real value of the revenues of the Northern *Circars*.

In the next place, Mr. *Ruſſell* conſiders, as the Company's eſtates,

1. Thoſe poſſeſſed by the Company prior to 1755, as ſtated in the Third Report of the Secret Committee, 1772.

2. The territories and revenues ceded to the Company by the *Mogul*, the *Nabob* of *Arcot*, and the *Soubah* of the *Decan*, viz. the *Purgunnahs* and *Zemindary* of *Calcutta*, the ceded lands *Midnapore* and *Chittagong* †, the diſtrict of *Maſſulipatam*, the five Northern *Circars*, and the *Jaggeer* lands at *Madras*.

Theſe are Mr. *Ruſſell*'s debatable lands.

3. The provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and part of *Oriſſa*, terminated by the *Cattack*,

* Vide page 240.

† In the 2d edit. Mr. *Ruſſell* inſerted the ceded lands, which, I believe, he had forgot in his 1ſt edition.

the diſtrict of *Benares*, the countries in the *Carnatic*, and on the *Malabar* coaſt, lately obtained by treaty from *Tippoo Sultaun.* All theſe territories, acquired by conqueſt, according to Mr. *Ruſſell*, are claims of the public, as property of the ſtate, on a maxim *of law*, that all territories obtained by *conqueſt* veſt in the Crown.

To this arbitrary diviſion I ſubſtitute two.

1. All ſettlements made for the purpoſe of trade, and for its ſecurity, at any time, by the Company, under the authority of Royal Charters, whether granted by *Sunnud*, by native princes, or by their permiſſion, purchaſed from native landholders adjoining to their ſettlements, as in the inſtance of thirty-ſeven villages contiguous to *Calcutta*, conſtitute the territorial eſtate of the Company.

2. All territory not ſpecially for the purpoſes of trade, obtained by conqueſt, grant, or treaty; and all revenues ariſing therefrom, and to which acts of ſove-

reignty neceſſarily attach, whether for the purpoſes of police, or protection of property, conſtitute the property of the *crown* in behalf of the ſtate, ſubject to the control of the Legiſlature; and the Executive Government and Parliament muſt be equally vigilant, when the rights of the Sovereign are attempted to be ſequeſtered or eluded, as when the Company, under permiſſion either of *Britiſh* or native Government to purchaſe, ſhall ſeize lands without the conſent of its owners.

The whole of Mr. *Ruſſell*'s caſe reſts on his diſtinguiſhing *Maſſulipatam* from the *Circars*: he has given a detailed narrative of the acquiſition of thoſe diſtricts; and in another ſection he has related the acquiſition of the *Circars*. He admits the right of the King of *England* in the firſt caſe, founded on conqueſt *: "becauſe *Maſſulipatam* had been held as a *Fief* of the *Indian* Empire, and that the change of hands could not alter the rights of the *Mogul* or his *Soubah*, as the paramount Lords. We

* Short Hiſtory, p. 65.

are ready to admit, that the King, by his prerogative, muſt, of neceſſity, be the *ſummus Dominus ſupra omnes* over all territories held by him; that lands in his poſſion are free from every tenure; that he can neither be a joint tenant with another, nor hold of another; but with this admiſſion, and though in fact the *Soubah* had taken no part in the hoſtilities between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, they being feudatories of the *Soubah*, it muſt, to every legal intent, be held as levying war againſt that power alſo; and, that by the conqueſt, the ſovereignty, as well as the ſoil, became inſtantly annexed to the Crown of *England*. If the *French* had themſelves the ſovereignty, the legal effect would have been the ſame. The ſubſequent agreement by Colonel *Ford* with *Salabut Jung*, could not change or vary the nature of the King's title to *Maſſulipatam* once acquired; nor under the charter of 1757, *could* the Company reſtore it, becauſe they were reſtrained from ceding back any acquiſitions belonging to the *European* ſtates. The treaty of peace in 1763 completely eſtabliſhed the right of the King, the *French* having

thereby renounced all their acquisitions on the coast, except their factories, which alone were restored to them."

Mr. *Russell* admits, that Mr. *Bussy* had obtained from the *Soubah*, *Salabut Jung*, for the *French*, the Five *Circars*, as well as *Massulipatam*. It is not necessary to argue that Colonel *Ford*, by his conquering the *French* at *Massulipatam*, dispossessed the *French* of the *Circars*. Lord *Clive* told the Proprietors that * " the reduction of *Massulipatam*, the Four Northern Provinces, and the making all the *French* army there prisoners, greatly contributed to our success at *Fort George*;" if any agreement was entered into by Colonel *Ford* with *Salabut Jung* to retain only *Massulipatam*, on his own confession the agreement was void, it being contrary to the charter of 1757, to restitute. The negociations of Mr. *Alexander* with *Nizam Alli* in 1760, and the rejection of his *Sunnuds*, cannot have any weight; if founded on political wisdom, it arose from the Company not accepting

* *Clive's* Letter to the Proprietors, p. 8.

a worſe title from the uſurper than they had by conqueſt; and if the treaty of *Paris* * is referred to in ſupport of our right, how comes Mr. *Ruſſell* to forget, that *Salabut Jung* is guaranteed by that treaty to be the lawful *Nizam*? In one page Mr. *Ruſſell* ſays, "it appears, that ſo early as 1760, *Nizam Ally*, who, in conſequence of his brother, being deſerted by the *French*, had aſſumed the *Soubahſhip*, viſited the *Circars*, and was attended at *Rajamundrum* by Mr. *Alexander*." In the next, † "The new *Soubah*, *Nizam Ally*, derived his right to the Government of the *Decan*, under a grant from the *Mogul*;" in 1764 the *Madras* Government open a negociation with the *Soubah*, *Nizam Ally*, for a grant of the *Circars*, which failed; and in 1765 Lord *Clive* obtained the grant from the *Mogul*, on which he acted. Mr. *Ruſſell* ſays, "War, however, was, if poſſible, to be avoided; treachery, chicanery, and bribery were ſubſtituted as ſafer inſtruments ‡."

* Mr. *Ruſſell* calls it the Treaty of *Verſailles*.

† Short Hiſtory, p. 64 and 65. ‡ Ibid. p. 67.

The fort of *Condipelly* was a poſt neceſſary to command the principal paſs from *Ellore* to *Hyderabad*, this, Mr. *Ruſſell* ſays, " moſt probably was a *device* concerted to create a panic in the *Nizam*;" " this bare act of taking poſſeſſion of the defenceleſs fort of *Condipelly* and the *paſs* cannot ſurely be deemed a conqueſt of the *Circars*; it is much to be doubted if that fort is deemed a part of the *Circars**:" it is extraordinary that Mr. *Ruſſell* ſhould not remember that *Condaphillee* and *Muſtapha Nagur* are ſynonimous names of one of the *Circars*; but he farther obſerves, " it might as well be argued, that by the capture of *Breda* the *French* had accompliſhed the conqueſt of the United Provinces, as that a country 600 miles in length on the ſea coaſt was conquered by taking the Hill Fort ſituated at the weſtern extremity of it." Such reaſoning can be of little weight, for the caſes are not parallel, from the difference of the natural barriers in the two countries; beſides, it is not neceſſary to prove that the *Circars* were twice conquered,

* Short Hiſtory, p. 71.

becauſe Mr. *Ruſſell*, from the ſame authority by which he proves * that *Maſſulipatam* under the *French* was "diſtinct from the places dependant on it, as well as from the ſubſequent acquiſitions of the *French* in the *Northern Circars*," might find diſtinct evidence of the contrary poſition. Mr. *Dupleix*'s celebrated addreſs to the *French* nation, adduces evidence of the political importance, and of the geographical diviſion, of the country in queſtion. Mr. *Dupleix*, on his review of the propoſed equalization of the *Engliſh* and *French* Companies in *India*, in the time of Governor *Godeheu* and Governor *Saunders*, obſerves, that *Maſſulipatam*, from its ſituation, is the key to the northern commerce of the *Decan* †. It was alſo then ſtated to the *Syndics* and *Directors* of the *French* Company, that the giving *Maſſulipatam* and *Divi* to obtain quiet poſſeſſion of *Nizampatam* and *Condavir*, would be like renouncing *Flanders*, *Burgundy*, and *Alſace*, to keep *Lorraine* ‡. Mr. *Ruſſell* perhaps

* Short Hiſtory, p. 60, refers to *Dupleix* Mem.

† Memoire de *M. de Moracin*, p. 95,

‡ Mem. concernant l'Etat, &c. dans les *Indes*, p. 67.

did not recollect that the ſtatements of the revenues of the diſtinct parts of the *French* poſſeſſions refer merely to that negociation, and Mr. *Dupleix* expreſsly ſtates that *Maſſulipatam* and its dependencies form a part of the province of *Raja Mundry* *; conſequently, driving out the *French* in 1759, and taking poſſeſſion of *Maſſulipatam*, was, in fact, taking poſſeſſion of the northern provinces: and in the year 1765, the Company being in poſſeſſion of *Maſſulipatam*, the taking poſſeſſion of the fort of *Condipelly* and the paſs, under the *Mogul's* grant, was all that was neceſſary to ſecure the whole *Northern Circars*, without renewal of hoſtilities with the *French*. Mr. *Ruſſell* admits the *Mogul's Sunnuds* were *then* publiſhed, and every *Zemindar* immediately acknowledged the Company as their ſovereign †.

In vain will Mr. *Ruſſell* puzzle among the negociations with *Salabut Jung* ſubſequent to the conqueſt of the *Circars* in

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, p. 142. Obſervations ſur les Articles.

† Short Hiſtory, p. 68.

1759; the ſtatements printed by the Company and by *Orme*, and the diſpatches of Colonel *Ford*, all differ; but Mr. *Ruſſell* may ſee in *Orme* that the *Madras* Government ſent a commercial chief to *Maſſulipatam*, and that Colonel *Ford* waited for the orders of *Clive*, this military and political operation having been conducted by his ſole direction. Mr. *Ruſſell* forgets the unlimited powers delegated to *Clive* when he was detached in 1757 to re-poſſeſs the *Engliſh*, who were driven on board their ſhips; he cannot ſeriouſly ſuppoſe that in the critical ſituation of the *Engliſh* affairs in *Bengal*, *Clive* would have detached half his army into the *Decan* only to eſtabliſh a factory at *Maſſulipatam*, when they had not a ſhilling to make an inveſtment: in September, 1758, he ſent 420 *Europeans* and 1,400 ſeapoys, and incurred the expence of half a million ſterling; and in *Bengal*, *Clive* took the field in March, 1759, with only 400 *Europeans* and 2,500 ſeapoys*. *Clive* meant no ſuch ſtatement when he informed the proprietors that "the re-

* *Scrafton*'s Sketch, p. 117, 119.

duction of *Massulipatam*, the *four northern provinces*, and the making all the *French* army there prisoners, greatly contributed to our success at *Fort St. George* *;" there the *French* "met with a resistance suitable to the importance of the object; and I am persuaded that Messrs. *Pigott*, *Lawrence*, *Draper*, and many other gentlemen of that garrison, would have been buried under its ruins sooner than have surrendered the place †." The confidence of men of honour at the head of the *British* interests in *India* at that time made up for the inferiority of force, and the ignorance of their employers, and of the nation: if it requires more to shew the ability of *Clive* and the importance of the *Circars* in his estimation, I may add, that at the time he had detached so great a part of his force to the *Circars*, seven *Dutch* ships with 600 *European* and more native troops landed in *Bengal*; Colonel *Ford* having given up his command in the *Decan*, was employed to prevent the junction of this suspiciously

* *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1764.

† Ibid.

well-timed reinforcement, from joining the *Dutch* factory; he gained a complete victory over them, and the *Dutch* were incapacitated from embroiling farther the affairs of the *English*. In their memorials the *Dutch*, in 1762, claim their privileges under the *Mogul*'s *Phirmaund*, and contended that the *Nabob* was only a governor of the provinces, and was not authorised to infringe the *Mogul*'s grant. The Directors, in their memorial to the King, answer, that the *Nabob* of *Bengal*, from the *Mogul*'s inability to maintain his rights, was *de facto*, whatever he might be *de jure*, a sovereign Prince, or at worst not a *Viceroy*, but a tributary to the *Mogul* *.

Mr. *Russell*, however, in his first edition, modestly, "with submission to better judges," states the *Circars* being held merely as a *farm* under *Nizam Alli*, at a rent of about £.70,000 a year, to stand on similar footing with the *Jageer* lands; but in his second edition, he concludes his elaborate additional chapter, "upon the

* *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1764, p. 50.

whole, we retain the opinion formerly given in the third chapter, that in point of law the Crown and the public have no claim againſt the Company in the *Northern Circars*, and that they are held by the Company as *Jageerdars* to the *Mogul*, (a ſpecies of military tenure by which they are to furniſh a number of cavalry determinable by the King's books,) paying at the ſame time, by voluntary compact, a fixed tribute to the *Soubah* of the *Decan*, who is the *nominal* Viceroy and repreſentative of the *Mogul* in thoſe parts." All this refinement will vaniſh before the true hiſtorical and political facts. The *Mogul*'s grant in 1765 came ſubſequent to the conqueſt in 1759; no act of the *Madras* Government was valid for reſtitution of conqueſts made from the *French*; having connected the *Mogul*'s grant in point of date, according to Mr. *Ruſſell*'s deductions, I ſhall conclude "that the law hath caſt the legal eſtate by the conqueſt upon the King; and any grants made ſubſequent to the King's title once acquired, though made by the conquered party and former owner to the real conqueror, are unavail-

able, and cannot opeate to divest the King of what he had been previously invested with *." The tedious negociation to avert farther warfare, led to an agreement with the *Nizam* in 1766; the grant or *Jageer* which he had given to his brother *Bazalet Jung* was allowed to continue during his life, with an annual subsidy or rent of nine lacks, which ought to have been discontinued in August, 1767, when the *Nizam* openly joined the army of *Hyder* at *Bangalore*; for the payment to the *Nizam* was not to acquire a right, but to purchase amity and peace. If right guaranteed by treaty had decided, and the *Mogul*'s grant had been laid aside, *Salabut Jung*, and not *Nizam Alli*, must have been the Sovereign to treat with, according to the treaty of *Paris*; but I heartily agree with Mr. *Russell*, that "to raise a question at this day on the efficacy of the *Mogul*'s grant to the Company would be absurd and preposterous, as striking at the very root of their titles to various parts of our possessions in *India* †." To satisfy Mr. *Russell*'s and the

* Short History, p. 70. † Ibid.

public's geographical doubts, I ſhall make an extract from Mr. *Grant*'s political ſurvey of the *Northern Circars*, an official report made to the *Bengal* Government after his return from an official reſidence at the court of the *Nizam*. This work, being equally acceſſible to Mr. *Ruſſell* as other documents which he has adopted, ſhould have ſaved me the diſagreeable office of commenting on his error.

CHAP. XVI.

A POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS.

Extent and Boundary.

THAT portion of the *Britiſh* dominion on the *Coromandel* coaſt commonly called the *Northern Circars*, from its relative ſituation to *Fort St. George*, is a narrow ſlip of maritime country extending from 51°½ to the 20th degree of north latitude; and from 79°½ to 85°½ eaſt longitude

from *Greenwich*. The ſea bounds it to the *Eaſt* in a direct courſe N. E. ¼ E., along a coaſt 470 meaſured miles in length, from *Mootapillee*, dependant on *Guntour*, near its ſouthern extremity, to the town of *Maloud* in *Oriſſa*, on the borders of the *Chilka* lake. In almoſt a parallel direction on the *Weſt*, from fifty to ſeventy miles in land, it is divided from the interior provinces of the *Soubah* of *Hydrabad* by a range of ſmall detached hills extending to the banks of the *Goadaveri*; and in like manner ſeparated from *Berar*, to the north of that river, by a great continued ridge of mountains, impaſſable, every where hitherto explored, for horſe or wheel carriage, excepting in the middle near *Salour-gaut*, quite in the northern extremity of the *Circars* at *Goomſur*. From this laſt place the ſame unbroken chain curves to the eaſtward, and together with the *Chilka* lake, form an almoſt impenetrable barrier of fifty miles to the *North*, on the ſide of the *Mahrattahs* of *Cuttack*, excepting a tongue of land, between that lake and the ſea, a mile in breadth at *Maloud*, and interſected by the deep water communication of *Manicpatam*, at all times

unfordable. Towards the *ſouth*, the ſmall river *Gondegama*, which empties itſelf at *Mootapillee*, ſeparates the territory we are deſcribing, from the diſtricts of *Ongole*, and thus formeth, on that ſide, the moſt diſtinguiſhable modern frontier to the *Carnatic Payengaut*.

The *Area*, or ſuperficial contents of the *Circars*, taken in their greateſt extent of acceſſible, productive land, may be computed at 17,000 ſquare geographic miles; of which, perhaps, only *one fifth* in cultivation or fallow; *twice* that proportion in paſture, and the *remainder* woods, water, towns, barren hills, or a ſandy waſte, three miles in breadth, bordering the whole extent of the coaſt. By another diviſion, *three fourths* of this area may be conſidered a *plain*, riſing no where more than 25 feet above the level of the ſea, and ſtretching on a medium 35 miles inland, with only two remarkable interruptions in its greateſt length along the ſhore, by as many croſs, or rather inclined ridges of hills; the one a few miles north of the river *Settiaveram*, which forms the ſouthern boundary of

Cicacole; and the other, parting unequally that province, at the river *Poondy*, into its present subdivisions, dependant on *Vizagapatam* and *Ganjam*: the remaining *fourth portion*, parallel to this plain, and farther inland about 15 miles, is much more elevated, is agreeably variegated with hills and vales, easy of access, and superabundantly fertile. But beyond both these tracts of plain and hilly ground, to the *north* of the *Goadaveri*, a still higher region extends close to the great ridge of mountains on the confines of *Berar*. This comprehends at least 6000 square miles additional; but being poor, unhealthy, and thinly inhabited, pays so slender a tribute, that it is scarcely made any account of, unless as a frontier towards the *Mahrattah* Dominions on the N. W. almost wholly nacceſſible.

Six Provincial Divisions.

THE grand divisions of this whole territory are naturally and properly *five*; being so many portions of its length, princi-

pally marked by rivers, running acroſs from the hills on the weſt to the ſea; but beſides theſe, a *ſixth* diſtrict has been formed from the maritime border of the four ſoutherly *Circars* or Provinces, to ſerve as an appendage to, and ſecure the ſalt made, or cuſtoms collected at, the ports of *Nizampatam*, on a ſouthern outlet of the *Kiſtna*, and of *Maſſulipatam* on one of its northern branches, as well as at their reſpective dependencies along the coaſt.

1. *Guntour*, or *Moorteza-nagur*, the moſt ſoutherly province, is of a circular form, comprehending an area of 2500 ſquare miles. The river *Kiſtna*, after running a courſe of 600 miles, nearly on the parallel of 16°½ latitude, from its ſource on the *Balagaut* hills, near the coaſt of *Malabar*, forms the northern boundary of this *Circar*, and ſeparates it, in its greateſt extent on that ſide, from the province of *Muſtafanagur*. The boundaries to the *Weſt* and *South*, are the diſtricts of *Palnaud* and *Ongole*, formerly dependant on the *Fougedarry* of *Kerpah*, but ſometime ſince incorporated with the *Carnatic Payengaut*, and on the

East, *Nizampatam*, with its dependencies, intervene every where between it and the ſea, excepting a narrow communication with the ſmall port of *Mootapille*, which, in the confuſion of frequent revolutions, has been diſmembered from its proper maritime capital, and annexed to the interior country. This province therefore, generally ſpeaking, is entirely ſurrounded by the other dominions of *Britain*, and abſolutely detached from all the territory ſtill claimed, and held formally, by the *Soubahdar* of the *Decan*, under the Crown of *Delhi*.

2. *Condapillee*, or *Muſtafa-nagur*; and, 3. *Ellore*, adjacent to each other, as well as to the *Circar* juſt deſcribed, in a N. eaſterly direction, occupy the whole ſpace lying between the *Kiſtna* and the diſtricts of *Maſſulipatam* towards the ſea, and the inland province of *Commamet* on the *Weſt*; and the *Jheel*, or lake of *Colare*, chiefly formed by the overflowings of thoſe two rivers, with a parallel ſtream running through its centre to the ſea coaſt at *Gollapollam*, would nearly divide the *Circars*

under conſideration into two equal parts or ſquares of about 53 miles on every ſide, allowing for ſome inequalities, which, however, ought not to eſcape notice. *Condapillee*, along the north bank of the *Kiſtna*, ſtretches ſome of its ſtraggling *Purgunnahs* to the weſt through *Commamet*, as far as *Mongal*, 120 miles from *Maſſulipatam*, and rather more than half way to *Hydrabad*; comprehending an area in the whole of about 3400 ſquare miles. On the other hand, the river *Goadaveri*, which deſcribes the limits of *Ellore* northerly, curves ſo much in its greater branch to the ſouth on approaching the ſea, as to diminiſh conſiderably the eaſt ſide of the ſquare of this province; and though the diſtrict of *Polaveram*, dependent on *Rajemundry* among the hills, on the ſouthern bank of the ſame river, be a farther encroachment on the regular bounds of *Ellore*, yet ſtill its ſuperficial contents cannot juſtly be eſtimated at leſs than 2700 ſquare miles.

4. *Rajemundry*, towards the ſouth, is, with the exception above mentioned, ſeparated from *Ellore* in its greateſt breadth by

the *Goadaveri*. This river, after receiving many leſſer ones, from its ſource among the *Balagaut* mountains near *Bombay*, on the *Malabar* coaſt, and running a courſe eaſt-ſoutherly from thence about 700 miles, divides itſelf into two great branches 35 miles from the ſea, within which is formed the iſland of *Nagur*; a triangular ſpace comprehending only 500 ſquare miles, but of greater value in proportion to its extent than perhaps any other ſpot in the *Eaſt*, without excepting the famed *Delta* of *Ægypt*. From the diſtrict of *Polaveram*, on the weſt, the great ridge of hills towards *Berar* limits this province; and the ſmall river of *Settiaveram* running from thence to the ſea, deſcribes its *northern* boundary with *Cicacole*, including in all an area of 1700 miles of acceſſible country.

5. The diſtricts of *Maſſulipatam* form the leaſt of the grand diviſions of the *Circars*, and, as hath been obſerved, are only portions of the maritime border diſmembered, for certain uſes, from the four provinces already deſcribed. *Nizampatam*, formerly a ſeparate juriſdiction on the ſouth

of the *Kiſtna*, extending along a coaſt of 60 miles, from *Point Divi*, near the great mouth of that river, to *Mootapillee* ſouth, and about 5 in breadth on a medium to the territory of *Guntoor*, conſtitutes the *ſouthern* portion of this diviſion; and from the ſame head-land, including the iſland of *Divi*, to *Narſapore* on the ſouthern arm of the *Goadaveri*, and from thence to *Ingeram* on its northern branch, juſt beyond the point formed by and deriving its name from this river, lye ſeveral *Pergunnahs* detached from *Condapillee*, and ſome leſſer ſea-ports ſcattered on the ſhores of *Ellore* and *Raje-mundry*, together compoſing the *northern* ſubdiviſion, and extending along a coaſt of 105 miles, within 45 of *Pentacotah*, at the mouth of the *Settiaveram*, and boundary of *Cicacole*. Both theſe portions united may contain 700 ſquare miles of land, immediately dependant on *Maſſulipatam*, which is not only the capital of theſe diſtricts, but alſo the ſeat of a ſubordinate Government ruling the different provinces deſcribed, except *Guntour*, and is the principal fort or bulwark of all the northern *Circars*.

6. *Cicacole*, anciently *Kulling*, the moſt northerly and laſt in order of the grand diviſions, is alſo ſubdivided into two diſtricts; of which, one, deriving its name from that province, is dependant on *Vizagapatam*; the other, called *Ichapoor*, is placed under the chief and council of *Ganjam*. The former lies between the rivers of *Settiaveram* on the ſouth, and of *Poondy* north; from the croſs hills approaching the ſea near thoſe extremities, it forms a kind of amphitheatre, or ſemi-circular territory; of which the diameter along the coaſt extends 180 miles, and its greateſt dimenſions inland, to the high mountainous region on the weſt, about one third of the ſame diſtance, comprizing an area not leſs than 4400 ſquare miles. The latter ſubdiviſion of this province, is of a triangular figure, ſtretching its longeſt ſide along the ſhore about 80 miles from *Poondy* to *Maloud*, the ſouthern frontier of *Cuttack*, and its ſhorteſt to the angle at *Goomſur*, 50 miles in a weſt northerly direction towards *Berar*, containing near 1600 miles of ſuperficial meaſure; excluſive of that portion of country, which, in this diſtrict,

as well as in all the others ſouthward to the *Goadaveri*, we have aſſigned to the high inacceſſible region, extending to the great ridge of boundary mountains on the weſt, in variable breadths.

The *Climate* of the *Northern Circars*, with a general conformity to what is obſervable in other parts of *Hindoſtan*, *North* of the *Kiſtna*, has yet, from latitudinal extent of country, maritime ſituation, and poſition of the inland hills, ſome peculiarities in each of the *three ſeaſons* of the year, worthy of remark. The *periodical rain* called by the natives *Burſant*, uſually ſets in about the middle of June, with a weſterly wind, in moderate ſhowers until the latter end of Auguſt, which month concludes the *Poonaſs-fuſſul*, or ſmall-grain harveſt; and continues from this period in greater abundance to the beginning of November, when it generally breaks up with violence, and uſhers in the *Zimmeſtan*, or winter, with a ſtrong north-eaſterly wind, greatly tempered, however, in its coldneſs, by the mild influence of the ſea over which it blows. The *middle* of this latter and de-

lightful ſeaſon, early in January, finiſhes the *Fuſſul-khereef* for rice and *Bajary*, which are the great productions of the country *North* of the *Goadaveri*, and, in like manner, its *cloſe*, at the vernal equinox, terminates the third *Fuſſul* or *Rubbi-harveſt*, the grand one for *Joary** or *Janaloo*, as well as for all the different ſpecies of grain or pulſe, *South* of that river. Then commenceth the *Tabeſtan*, or hot ſeaſon, which is always extremely moderate towards the *Northern* extremity of the *Circars*, near *Ganjam*, by reaſon of conſtant ſemidiurnal breezes from the ſea, and the poſition of the neighbouring hills from ſouth to weſt, contrary to the ordinary direction of the wind: about *Maſſulipatam* on the *ſouth*, for the firſt two months, ſtrong ſoutherly gales along the ſhore, together with the ſea breezes, moderate the heat; but the baleful influence of the former, in blowing over ſalt

* *Joary* and *Pelujary*, the former white, the other yellow and coarſer, are a ſpecies of Maize with a large buſhy top; in contradiſtinction to the *Mecca Joary* or Indian corn, which hath its grain growing in a conic form; as hath in like manner the *Bajary*, or Millet, on a longer and ſlenderer *Buhta* or ear.

ſtagnant marſhes on the coaſt, is injurious to animal life, and abſolutely deſtructive to vegetation; during the ſucceeding month, and until the rains, the wind coming from the weſt, over a parched looſe ſoil of great extent, uninterrupted by any continued chain of hills, and paſſing along the broad, and, at this time of the year almoſt dry, ſandy bed of the *Kiſtna*, becomes ſo intolerably hot near the mouths of that river, as to raiſe the Thermometer, ſometimes for a week together, to 110 degrees within the houſe, and ſeldom under 105 during the firſt part of the day. Another peculiarity of climate too often and fatally experienced in this country, is the noxious ſtate of the air in all the hilly regions, throughout the different ſeaſons of vegetation, which occaſions the diſtemper called the *Hill-fever*. This generally mortal diſorder has been ſometimes aſcribed to the *water*, impregnated, perhaps, with the poiſonous quality of copper ore in paſſing over the mountains, or from ſprings iſſuing through unwholeſome mineral earths; and ſometimes with equal probability it has been attributed to the corrupted juice of vegetables waſhed

down by torrents into the public reſervoirs; but the greateſt operative cauſe is doubtleſs the groſſneſs of the atmoſphere, charged and contaminated with the exhalations of a luxuriant ſoil, pent up in vallies; as ſeems to be clearly evinced by the prevalence of the ſame diſtemper even in the plains, where the richer crops of *Janaloo* are cultivated, and a free circulation of the air impeded by the luxuriancy of the proper growth of this plant, or by ſurrounding trees and villages.

The ſoil in all thoſe provinces, along the coaſt, is chiefly ſandy, improving gradually towards the hills. The ſame ground therefore ſeldom if ever yields more than a ſingle crop of grain annually; but there being every where an abundant ſupply of water, the one produced is generally extremely rich. For beſides the boundary rivers already mentioned, which fertilize the country on either ſide, there are many leſſer ones within each of the *Circars* running into the ſea, or divided artificially into canals, and afterwards conducted into the tanks and greater reſervoirs; ſuch are the ſtreams paſſ-

ing through *Guntour*, and which, for the moſt part, collected near *Bopetla*, together with the overflowings of the *Kiſtna*, water the ſands of *Nizampatam*; ſuch alſo are the rivulets drawn from this great river and the *Goadaveri*, which uniting in the *Colare*, between the provinces of *Condapillee* and *Ellore*, are from thence diverted into numberleſs channels to water the circumjacent territory. In *Rajemundry* the *Yeleru*, or *Yalore*, running parallel to, and not far ſouth of, the *Settiaveram*, is, with uncommon intelligence and induſtry, ſubdivided, to anſwer the purpoſes of cultivation within the two principal *Zemindarries* of *Pedapore* and *Pettapore*, on its oppoſite banks; while the iſland of *Nagur*, or *Nagarum*, encloſed chiefly by the two greater branches of the *Goadaveri*, and interſected by five other leſſer ones, is made wonderfully productive, not only by a conſtant and plentiful ſupply of the great element of vegetation, but from the acquiſition of an extraordinary rich ſoil, in being thus, from ſituation, the grand receptacle of all the ſlimy mould carried down by the greateſt river in the *Decan*. The ſouthern ſub-

division of *Cicacole*, with a better soil than is found in other parts of the *Circars*, is sufficiently watered by four interior rivers, which have their outlets at the respective ports of *Vizagapatam*, *Bimlipatam*, *Maphus-bunder*, or *Cicacole*, and *Calingapatam*, besides many lesser streams in the season of the rains, in advancing to the northwards; and in the territory of *Jehapoor*, the river of *Ganjam* uniting different branches from the vallies of *Vizianagur*, *Burragur*, and *Goomsur*, in the very centre of the whole district, in its greatest breadth at *Aska*, makes this portion of the province equally fruitful with the other, comparatively to its extent.

From the many advantages which we have already enumerated as common to the *Circars*, it may be expected that their *natural produce* will appear proportionate; nevertheless, the most useful classes of *animals* are found in greater abundance than variety, being almost wholly reducible to sheep, and the larger species of horned cattle; but the neighbouring sea and its numberless inlets abound with every kind

of *Indian* fiſh, a few excepted, together with ſome that are common to *Europe*, ſuch as mullet, ſoal, and pomflet; the latter reſembling moſt the turbot, if it be not exactly the ſame in miniature, is more peculiarly attached to this coaſt, and is turned to no inconſiderable benefit, when ſalted, for the inland markets. It is, however, in the grand and moſt neceſſary articles of *vegetable* production that this territory is particularly famous. In grain, the different ſorts of which we have already had occaſion to mention, it is properly the granary of the *Carnatic*, during the north-eaſt monſoon, in like manner as *Tanjore* is reckoned on, for the other ſeaſon of the periodical winds from the oppoſite point of the compaſs. Fruits, roots, and greens are ſcarce, and reared with difficulty to the ſouth of the *Goadaveri*; and even to the north of that river, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the ſea air, are neither ſo excellent in kind, nor are they to be met with in ſuch plenty as in other parts of the *Decan*. It may farther be obſerved, that ſome of the articles of *ſecond neceſſity*, ſuch as ſugar and cotton, are alſo

too ſcantily produced in *Rajemundry* and *Jehapoor*, for the general conſumption of all the provinces; while, on the other hand, bay ſalt and tobacco, the latter from the vicinity of *Maſſulipatam*, known every where for ſuperior excellence, have exceeded of late years in quantity the home and foreign demand for both. But in the juſt eſtimation of a commercial people, all the partial diſadvantages we have named, would be more than counterbalanced by a ſingle *uncultivated production* of the greateſt utility, if proper uſe was made of the foreſts of *Rajemundry*; which, from the commencement of the hills along the banks of the *Goadaveri* to *Palouncha* on the frontiers of *Commamet*, yield a ſuperabundance of the beſt and largeſt *Teak* timbers, ſo generally thought ſuperior in quality even to oak, for the ſhip-building and navigation of the *Indian* ſeas. At preſent the *Coco* and *Palmyra*, or in the more northerly province the *Toomecara* *, form the principal materials for conſtructing, in the diffe-

* This ſeems to be a ſpecies of the tree which produces the gum-arabic.

rent ports of the *Circars*, five hundred of thofe unweildy veffels called *Doonies* *, of various burthens, from 60 to 100 tons each. The diamond mines of *Guntour* and *Condapillee*, referved by treaty to the *Nizam*, deferve barely to be mentioned as a rarity, not to be confidered as of any great political confequence.

In regard to *Manufactures*, the ftaple produce of the country worked from cotton is of two different forts and finenefs: plain *long cloth*, fo valuable at foreign markets, is chiefly wrought in the ifland of *Nagur* and its vicinity, where the manufacturers have always found a fure afylum from the ravages of war; it forms the ground work of the beft printed callicoes in *Europe*, and of thofe inimitably painted ones called *Palampores*, in the diftricts of *Maffulipatam*. The coarfer plain cloths made to the north and fouth of the *Goadaveri*, or coloured with the *Chay*-root, which

* Coafting veffels of one and two mafts, managed by native lafcars or feamen, having a convex upper deck, with the view of refifting more effectually any incumbent waves.

is the madder of the *East*, and growing in moſt perfection in the pure ſands annually overflowed by the *Kiſtna*, are equally articles in vaſt demand abroad, or for interior conſumption. But the muſlins of *Cicacole*, the beautiful woollen carpets of *Ellore*, and ſilks of *Burrampore* in *Ichapoor*, wrought from the raw materials imported from *Bengal* or *China*, are rather objects of curioſity and meriting encouragement, than conſiderable in quantity or benefit. Of this nature alſo is the *art* of painting or inlaying ivory and black wood in the cabinet work made at *Vizagapatam*. But the facility, convenience, and cheapneſs with which ſhips of war, or of burthen not exceeding five hundred tons, have been, and might in greater number be, conſtructed in the ports of *Coringa* and *Narſapore*, at the two principal mouths of the *Goadaveri*, are conſiderations of the utmoſt importance to a maritime ſtate; nor ſhould the extenſive branch of ſhip-building at preſent in uſe, though with ſo much imperfection and improvidence, in ſupplying 50,000 tons in ſmaller craft for the coaſting trade, be forgotten, in ſtating the more uſeful

arts, which at once form the proprietary and local intereſts of the country.

Theſe ſeveral objects of natural or artificial produce, when united, form the grand reſources of *commerce*, which in the *Circars* may be claſſed under three different heads; the trade to *Europe*, to neighbouring *Indian* ports, and the inland provinces of the *Decan*.

The firſt confined entirely to the finer cotton manufactures exported by *European* nations which have eſtabliſhments on this coaſt, or purchaſed by other foreign adventurers, may amount in the whole, at prime coſt, to *thirty* lacks of rupees, of which one half ſeldom finds its way to *England*, though a much greater quantity would be productive of a certain benefit of upwards of 100 *per cent.*

The ſecond, or coaſting trade, carried on almoſt entirely with *Madras*, ſince the late prohibition againſt importing bay ſalt into *Bengal*, conſiſts either of *grain*, amounting annually to half a million of

bags, and valued on a medium at *twenty-five* lacks of rupees, including freight and other charges which return to the country; or, for the moſt part, in the coarſer *cloths* proper for the Eaſtern market, and which may be eſtimated at *ten* lacks more.

The third branch, or interior commerce, in *ſalt* and *piece goods* of native production, or *copper* and *raw ſilk*, the latter chiefly from *Bengal*, leaves a balance of *ten lacks*, after deducting *half* that amount for returns of *cotton* and *wheat* received in barter from the *Lomballies* or inland carriers, and conſumed within the *Circars*. And theſe are the various commercial benefits, computed in the groſs at ſeventy-five lacks of rupees, which, in a flouriſhing period of ſeventeen years back, and moſt ſo under the late diſtractions in the *Carnatic*, have annually increaſed the hidden treaſure or languid circulation of the parſimonious *Indians*; excepting an overplus never exceeding fifteen lacks, ſaved from a very diſproportionate revenue, to liquidate the yearly gratuity paid to the

Nizam by treaty, or is remitted in ſpecie to the Preſidency of *Fort St. George.*

The native *inhabitants* of all theſe provinces, excluſive of a few thouſand *Mahometans* diſperſed in the principal towns, or among the more regular infantry and militia, are wholly *Hindoos*, and may, with great moderation, be numbered at *two millions and a half* under all denominations. They are compoſed, or rather they are parts, of the two nations of *Telinga* and *Oria*, *Woria*, or *Oriſſa*, formerly divided from each other by the *Goadaveri*, but ſince their union under the ſame government, a good deal mixed among themſelves, as well as with ſome of the neighbouring tribes. Still, however, under a general religious conformity to the doctrines of the *Bedes*, as received in the *Decan*, they ſpeak and write different dialects, apparently of the *Shanſcrit* language, and have rites, cuſtoms, and characteriſtical traits, perfectly diſtinguiſhable from each other. The *four* great *caſts*, or diviſions of the people, as founded on ſpiritual authority, are therefore common to both countries, but with leſs devia-

tion from the original inſtitutions in *Oria*, where *Braminical* abſtinence from animal food, excepting fiſh, contrary to the practice of all the other *Decanees*, is pretty generally obſerved by the higher tribes of every claſs. Farther as theſe diſtinctions had equally a reference to the temporal, as well as religious, ſtate, ſo even where the ancient rule, prohibitory of intermarriage, has been once, or oftener infringed; yet the different *caſts* have been, in a manner, wholly preſerved, and are ſometimes moſt tenaciouſly adhered to in *civil* occurrences, among the *Sunker*, mixed, or baſtard deſcendants of the primitive inhabitants. Thus, the *Bramins* continue to enjoy their pre-eminence and conſideration among the other tribes, though always in proportion to the purity of their lives or outward ſanctity; in like manner the *Rachewars*, *Rowwars*, and *Velmas* *, of

* *Rachewars*, *Rowwars* *Telinga* corruptions of *Rajah*, or of its diminutive *Rai*, joined with the perſonal or local appellative *war*, to expreſs the people, or deſcendants of Chiefs of foreign extract, or of modern upſtart race. The *Velmawars* among the *Telingians*, are equivalent to the *Nairs* of *Malabar*, or *Naigs* of

which denominations the principal *Zemindars* in the *Circars* are actually composed, affect the warlike character and manners of *Rajepoots*, to entitle themselves to be ranked with the more genuine offspring of the *Cheteree*, or second class. But the *Commewar*, *Conbies*, or husbandmen; *Golewar*, *Abere*, or cowherds; *Saliwar*, *Julhai*, or weavers, together with the *Twelve Bulootedars*, or artificers, maintained by the greater villages, and taxed by Government, though all incorporated in the *Sooder*, last, or *fourth* great *cast*, have yet sometimes claimed the degree immediately above them; and, from their utility, have as often been allowed, by a foreign magistrate, to rank with the *Comti*, *Banias*, or retail merchants, which are properly of the *third*, or class assimilated with that of *Bice* *.

Canara, and are the native gentry or military of the country, claiming descent from, or adopted into the families sprung from the ancient princes of *Worangol*.

* N. B. What farther regards the character, manners, customs, and religion of these *Decannee Hindoos*, is the subject of a more ample description in another part of a political survey, which treats generally of all

The note here inserted, in the MS., proves the extent of Mr. *Grant*'s intereſting reſearches into the hiſtory and polity of *India*; the political and hiſtorical view of the *Northern Circars*, which I have inſerted to ſhew how great and important part of *Britiſh India* is, included in Mr. *Ruſſell*'s queſtion, is only an *extract* from the *Introduction* to Mr. *Grant*'s Political Survey of the *Northern Circars*, laid on the tables of the Houſe of Commons, as before mentioned. By connecting this extract with the chapter on the fraudulent Alienations of Revenues in the *Northern Circars* *, a correct examination of the political and financial importance of the *Circars* may be compared with Mr. *Ruſſell*'s calculation and ſtatement of fact.

the *Six Indian* nations inhabiting the Peninſula, giving their names to, or denominated from, the grand diviſions of country, *Malabar*, *Canara*, *Merhat*, *Telinga*, *Oria*, *Gaendwannah*, into which the *Decan* is naturally and properly diſtributed.

* Vide Chap. VIII. p. 193, and Chap. XII. p. 240.

Revolutions and Hiſtorical Events.

Bamineah Rule.

It was not untill the year 1471 of the *Chriſtian* æra, or 876 of the *Hejerah*, that the *Mahommedans* of the *Decan* extended their arms to the *Northern Circars*. At this time *Oria*, the *Rajah* of the country of the ſame name, ſeparated from the reſt of *Oriſſa*, on the north, by the *Chilca* lake, having died without iſſue, a diſpute aroſe for the ſucceſſion between *Mungal Rai*, the adopted ſon, and *Humner*, the couſin of the deceaſed. The latter had recourſe for aſſiſtance to *Mahommed Shah Luſkkery*, who then ruled over the *Bamineah* Empire in *Beder*, and had long wiſhed for ſuch an opportunity of extending his conqueſts on that ſide of his dominions; in conſequence of which, the claimant was not only put in poſſeſſion of the family eſtates, but, through the aid of his great ally, acquired the new conqueſts of *Condapillee*, including all the intervening diſtricts to *Rajemundry*, on condition of becoming tributary for the whole to the *Muſſulman* Empire, 1480.

But the ambitious projects of *Mahommed Shah* were not accomplifhed until nine years afterwards, by fubjugating more completely to his authority the *diftricts* of *Maffulipatam*, with the important province of *Guntour*. Thefe formed part of a principality lately eftablifhed by *Narfingh*, who was probably defcended from the conquered *Telinga Rajahs* of *Worangol*, and being driven from the family inheritance, took advantage of the diftractions which prevailed in the *Carnatic*, to make himfelf mafter of the fea coaft of *Coromandel* from the *Kiftna*, fouth to *Kanji*, or *Conjeveram*, fixing his chief refidence at *Chundergury*. As the entire conqueft of this new ftate, afterwards called *Narfingha*, and fo often confounded by *European* travellers or hiftorians with *Bejenagur*, the Capital of the *Great Indian* Empire of *Canara*, from which it had been difmembered, entered largely into the political views of the Court of *Beder*; fo the poffeffion of *Guntour* in particular, as lying on the fouth fide of the *Kiftna*, and in other refpects, from fituation, juftly confidered the mafter-key of the *Carnatic*

towards the north, appeared of the greateſt relative importance.

Kootub-Shahy Rule.

In the year 1512 the *Kootub-Shahy*, a ſecond dynaſty of *Decanny Muſſulman Kings*, diſmembered, as *Turreſdars*, or Governors, by right of power, the eaſtern diviſion of the *Bamineah* Empire, called *Telinga*, but in after ages more generally denominated from its capital and principal fortreſs, indiſcriminately, the ſtate of *Hydrabad*, or of *Golconda*; and in proportion to the limited ſway of this new ſovereingty, ſo the complete reduction of all the tributary dependencies, eſpecially thoſe on the ſea coaſt, which are now the ſubject of conſideration, became a great object of policy with the ruling adminiſtration. The countries ſouth of the *Goadaveri* to the river *Gondegama* were entirely ſubdued; reduced nearly into their preſent form of provinces as deſcribed, and were in general modelled, almoſt on the ſame principles of interior government, as pre-

vailed at the period of the laſt revolution, when they were annexed to the *Britiſh* dominions in *India*. But at that time, *Wiſtna-deo*, or *Gajeputty*, a powerful prince of *Oriſſa*, having united under his ſceptre all the ancient family domains, from the confines of *Bengal* to thoſe of *Telinga* on the ſouth, no impreſſion could be made on *Rajemundry*, or the more northerly province, formerly tributary to the *Mahommedans*, while poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of *Oria*, until the year 1571, under the reign of *Ibrahim Kootub Shah*. Then, a new participation of this *Indian* principality leſſened the power of defence, and facilitated the reduction of the *Rheddy*, or proprietary Chief of the race of *Gajeputty*, to whoſe lot the ſouthern diviſion, along the banks of the *Goadaveri*, deſcended as an inheritance. The treaſon of *Vacheroy Muſſalee*, anceſtor to the *Zemindar* of *Peddapore*, and renter or manager for the *Rheddywars*, furthered the ambitious projects of the *Sultaun*, while it procured for himſelf the farm of *Kimmoor*, &c. which ſerved as a foundation to more extenſive acquiſitions. But the conqueſt of *Rajemun-*

dry was ſtill far from being complete. The iſland of *Nagur* was wholly inacceſſible to *Maſſulman* troops: nor could the interior of the province be ſufficiently protected from the ravages of the ejected proprietors, who were driven to their unwholeſome faſtneſſes among the hills, but by a ſtanding militia and feudatory force, which, beſides the ordinary eſtimated revenue of the *Circar*, ſubſiſted on lands exempted from taxation, or under exactions from inferior ſubjects of the ſtate, or plunder taken from neighbouring independant inhabitants, who were poſſeſſed of greater wealth than courage to defend it. In like manner *Cicacole* was but imperfectly reduced; and reckoning its firſt revenue according to the public records, it was rated at an aſſeſſment greatly ſhort of the actual collections made from the people, and of the neceſſary military diſburſements of a frontier province *.

* About the year 1592, *Rajah Mauſing*, the Emperor *Akbar*'s Delegate in *Bengal*, having partially ſubdued the Northern Provinces of *Oriſſa*, included in the liſts of his conqueſts the ſoutherly dependencies of *Kulling*, or *Cicacole*, and *Rajemundry*; valuing the former, of 27 *Mhals*, at 239,000 rupees, and the latter, of 16

Timooreah Rule.

A. D. 1687. Such, however, was the ſtate in which all the *Northern Circars*, together with the other dominions of *Abu'l Huſſeen*, the laſt of the race of the *Hootub Shahy*, fell in the year 1687 to the victorious arms of *Alem Geer*, the Great *Mogul* Emperor of *Hindoſtan*. But during the twenty remaining years of his reign, this monarch was too buſily employed in conquering the larger provinces of the *Decan*, and curbing the upſtart *Mahrattah* power, to inſpect, or render, either of the two maritime dependencies of *Hydrabad*, henceforth termed a *Soubah*, lying north of the *Goadaveri*, as productive as they ought to have been to the treaſury; and in the pe-

Mhals, at 125,000 rupees. But, in truth, the *Mogul* arms did not penetrate beyond the *Chilca* lake; and the aſſeſſment of thoſe two diſtricts annexed to, or making part of, the original *Toomar Jumma* of *Tooril Mull*, as exhibited in the the *Ayeen Akbary*, ſerves only to evince the imperfection of that famous rent-role, with reſpect to the *Soubah* of *Bengal*.

riod which immediately followed his death, ſucceſſive wars or contenſions for empire, having introduced anarchy and uſurpation in ſome places, precluded every where the poſſibility of reform, or, in general, occaſioned a total ſuſpenſion of all regular government throughout the whole extent of *Hindoſtan.*

Aſipheah Rule.

A. D. 1724. At length the memorable battle of *Shucker Kerah*, in 1724, gave a tranſient repoſe to the *Decan*, while it transferred, in fact, though not in form, the ſovereignty of this great limb of the *Mogul* Empire, from the houſe of *Timur* to that of *Aſipheah*, in the perſon of the firſt and famous *Nizam Ul Moolk*, ſelf-conſtituted, as well as by *Sunnuds* from *Mahommed Shah*, the reigning Emperor, *Viceroy* of all the *Six Soubahdarries*, ſouth of the *Nerbudda*, one of the great ancient and modern boundaries of proper *Hindoſtan.* The wiſdom and vigour of this new ruler were immediately felt in the *Circar* of *Ci-*

cacole, by the appointment of *Antwur Ul Dien Khan Gopamowee*, to the poſt of *Aumildar*, or Controller of that province; but we are not to eſtimate the public benefits derived from an able adminiſtration of *fifteen* years ſucceſſively, by the criterion of a rent roll, under the beſt conſtituted *Muſſulman* Government. The pride, the advantage of a great military eſtabliſhment, though often nominal, muſt be taken into conſideration; and if the *policy* and *paſſion* of princes did not ſo powerfully incline them to the *ſyſtem* of purchaſing perſonal attachments by conferring individual favours; yet it is ſo much the intereſt of Miniſters and the other great courtiers, thus to promote the wealth and influence of provincial delegates, perhaps originally recommended by themſelves, that full credit ought always to be given in *public* management, for various acquiſition of *private* fortune, authoriſed by unqualified deſpotiſm, written poſitive laws, or a conſcientious implication of their reaſon and true ſpirit. Nor will ſuch liberality appear ſo great when it is conſidered, that *death* legally gave to the prince, entire and uncondition-

ally, whatever portion of the riches of his ſubjects, the forbearance of his arbitrary will left to his delegates for *life*, only, perhaps, in the hopes of future reverſion. To judge, therefore, impartially of *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*'s progreſs in reducing to proper obedience, or in aſcertaining and realizing the full revenue of *thoſe diſtricts* ſo long placed under his management, we muſt take into the account, his ample private emoluments, of which a ſkilful application probably paved the way to farther preferment, until finally rewarded by the *Foujedarry* of the *Carnatic*. That the remains of his fortune eſcaped the graſping hand of his immediate ſuperior, the *Soubahdar* of *Hydrabad*, at the period of his death, muſt be attributed to the inability of even the great *Viceroy* himſelf, their common ruler, to aſſert the more undoubted rights of ſovereignty in any part of the *Decan*, under the terror of the then prevailing power of the *Mahrattahs*; and it may not be unworthy of remark, that even nineteen years afterwards it required the irreſiſtable influence of the *Britiſh* Government to obtain for *Mahommed Ali*, the

the ſucceſſor of *Anwur Ul Dien*, a full diſ-charge of the arrears, or pretended defal-cations in the revenue of *Cicacole*. But if ſuch were the advantages reſulting from the ability and good fortune of the *Aumil-dar*, deputed by the great *Aſiph Jah* to *one* of the maritime *Circars*, greater ſtill were the benefits derived from the vigour and integrity of his contemporary, *Ruſtum Khan*, who, from 1732, for ſeven ſucceſſive years, ruled, with the moſt ample delegated ſway, *Rajemundry*, with the other *four* more ſoutherly provinces. There, the *Zemin-dars*, or *Indian* farmers-general, had availed themſelves of the ſurrounding diſtractions, on the death of *Alem Geer*, to uſurp the rights and feeble authority of their corrupt *Muſſulman* ſuperintendants. To correct theſe dangerous abuſes, and reſtore the ancient, legal, or neceſſary forms of in-terior adminiſtration were the arduous taſks aſſigned to this new *Zelahdar*, or Provin-cial Governor, next in ſubordinate degree to, though, on the preſent occaſion, veſted in, the plenary powers of a *Foujedar*; and the conduct of the man ſo fully juſtifies the *Nizam*'s choice, that even to this day

it is held up, and confidered by the inhabitants in general, as an example worthy of imitation, for neceffary policy, confiderate humanity, rigid and univerfal juftice. At the fame time that the *Zemindars* had defrauded the Public Treafury, they fqueezed with the iron hand of oppreffion the induftrious hufbandmen and manufacturers. The firft object, therefore, of *Ruftum Khan*'s Government was the total extirpation of fuch mercilefs tyrants. Thofe who efcaped the fword, were proclaimed as traitors; and a reward being offered for their own with adherent heads, a fufficient number was foon collected to erect *two* of thofe fhocking pyramidal monuments, called *Kulla Minar*, near each of the provincial capitals; for one of which kind, though on a larger fcale, the cruelty of *Nadir Shah* is held in *Europe* fo juftly in abhorrence. The remains of one of thofe fingular proofs of eaftern depravity, the caufe or effect of the moft violent defpotifm, are ftill be feen in the neighbourhood of *Maffulipatam*; and might be fuppofed to ferve as a leffon of ufeful inftruction to the natives, to contraft and revere

the lenity of their actual Government. But the Legiſlature will aſſuredly be diſappointed, who expects to find in *Hindoſtan* the operation of free, enlarged reaſon and reflection; and the characteriſtical traits of the people, as ſketched by the great *Tamerlane* in his celebrated inſtitutions, would not have been ſo long and univerſally admitted by his imperial ſucceſſors as making the true unchangeable features of their ſubjects, as well as indicating the infallible ſtandard of practical rule in politics, if they had not been drawn with exact ſimilitude by a ſuperior diſcerning genius, and the hand of a maſter. Accordingly, the ſevere adminiſtration of *Ruſtum Khan*, which he now farther diſtinguiſhed by ſubſtituting *Aumeens*, ſuperviſors, or temporary collectors, in the room of the annihilated refractory *Zemindars*, is become as proverbial, for exemplary excellence in the *Circars*; as that of *Jaffier Khan*, who deviſed the famous loathſome torture of the *Bykunta*, or Paradiſe, to extort from ſimilar delinquents in *Bengal*, the ſettled revenue of the *Soubah* collected from the *Reyuts*. Still, however,

the *Jumma Kaumil*, or original aſſeſſment continued at an under rate on the *Chalſah* records; and the benefits derived by the ſtate from ſuperior management, were always temporary, depending on the perſonal ability of the individual employed, and for the moſt part flowing in through the private channels of corruption. *Muſſulman* depravity, indolence, and ignorance, ſoon made it neceſſary to recur to the ancient ſyſtem of finance, through the agency of *Hindoo* farmers-general; who to remedy the evils of a fluctuating government, were made to have a permanent intereſt in the ſoil and general proſperity of the country, by certain *local privileges*, which were ſo invariably continued in the ſame family by ſucceſſive *Aumildars*, that they were often miſtaken by the poſſeſſors for hereditary rights, liable always to be enlarged in anarchy, or under the authority of natural law, when civil reſtraints loſt all controling influence; and thus the creation of new *Zemindars* was in a few years productive of freſh diſorders under ſimilar circumſtances throughout the whole extent of the *Northern Circars*.

French Rule.

When theſe provinces were annexed to the *French* dominions in *India*, in 1753, under the *Nizamut* of *Salabut Jung*, who owed his elevation and ſupport chiefly to the great addreſs and military conduct of the famous *Buſſy*, that able politician and commander, appointed to rule the ceded territories, found himſelf under the neceſſity, but always with true meaſured civilized humanity, of going over the ſame ground with the beſt of his *Muſſulman* predeceſſors, in re-eſtabliſhing order and the indiſpenſable indubitable rights of Eaſtern ſovereignty. *Zemindars* were, as uſual, diſmiſſed from their employments, but generally permitted to enjoy, under *French Sunnuds*, their *Ruſſooms* and *Saverums*, or *conditional hereditary privileges*, amounting to from *eight* to *twelve per cent.* on the net revenue collected; and, excepting in the *Circar* of *Cicacole*, there are more inſtances of new creations, than total extirpation of thoſe neceſſary officers of Government.

Here indeed the reform was not complete. A number of petty *Indian* ſuperintendants divided the whole province betwixt them; and family feuds, internal uſurpations, together with multiplied abuſes, for ever diſturbed the public tranquillity, while they leſſened the *receipts* greatly below the *dues* of the exchequer. The union or annexation of theſe ſeveral poſſeſſions under one head, appeared the moſt eligible ſyſtem of adminiſtration; and *Vizeram Rauſe*, the predeceſſor, not anceſtor, of the preſent *Zemindar* of the ſame name, who then only held the *four Pergunnahs*, or leſſer diſtricts, about *Vizianagrum*, rendered himſelf the moſt uſeful and acceptable man to act in the capacity of chief.

It is not our province to trace the progreſſive execution of the plan projected; and we could wiſh to forget ſuch bloody ſcenes as occurred in the acquiſition of *Bobilee:* ſuffice it to obſerve, that ſucceſs crowned the enterprize, and raiſed the favoured *Vizeram* to that unrivalled power and conſideration, which the adopted repreſentative of his family is ſtill permitted to

enjoy, among a multitude of the official landholders difperfed throughout the *Circars*, fome of higher pretenfions from birth, but all of inferior territorial confequence. At length, in 1757, a complete furvey and *Huftabood*, or detailed accounts of the grofs collections of the whole country, infinitely more accurate and ufeful than the famous Doomfday book of *England*, were formed; Mr. *Buffey* acquired knowledge of refources entirely beyond his *Muffulman* predeceffors, and greatly exceeding perhaps, the general belief of more modern financiers. But moderation was neceffary under a recent foreign adminiftration. The regular troops to be fupported by the revenue were to be employed on diftant fervice; and the great Director-general himfelf, whofe prefence might frequently be requifite to enforce his decrees, was almoft conftantly obliged to refide at the *Nizam*'s Court, to keep in order and fet in motion that wonderful political machinery, which was at once the bafis of his own grandeur, and made his nation the arbiters of the *Decan*. The *Jummabundy* or annual fettlement, therefore, was only *doubled* in *Cicacole* and *Raje-*

mundry; and brought somewhat nearer the *Kham-Wosool*, or gross receipts, in the other provinces. Besides which, as a temporary expedient, the *Zemindars* were bound to maintain the public peace; defray all charges of collection; and keep on foot a *Sebundy corps* or militia of *twelve thousand* infantry, which over and above the ordinary service of preserving or enforcing the equal division of the *three* yearly crops between government and its tenants, were liable to be called on, for a very small daily allowance, to repel any invading foe. All this, however, we believe to have been only the first step towards establishing a more adequate *Jumma Kaumil*, or standard revenue, which a prospect of future stability was to make progressive, until it attained an equitable medium of rent or taxation, that leaves abundance to the husbandmen, with a sufficient spur to industry; that supplies the exigencies of the state in the necessary means for a general system of defence, or diffuses with returning increase, through the channels of commerce or other public disbursements, the enlivening benefits of provincial circulation; and after all, affords

to indifpenfable intermediate agents neither princely fortunes to feed idlenefs, or pamper ufelefs luxury, nor hoards of wealth to be fecreted in the earth for the purpofes of fuperftition or chicanery, and thus to fet at nought the deadly labour of man for its acquifition; nor enormous defalcations from the indifputable rights of royalty, to purchafe remiffions, privileges, and influence, by corruption; nor to maintain a very formidable military retinue, whofe only virtue is perfonal attachment to the mafter who pays them, chiefly on *alienated* lands on the footing of thofe territorial benefices, which, with equal impropriety or ignorance, are fometimes fuffered to be given away to gain the partial favour of *Bramins*; until at length the *King*'s conquered *domains* are rendered of no account, or wholly parcelled out to fupport meditated rebellion, muft be again reunited under refractory fubjects, in the form of hereditary independant poffeffions:—No, not any fuch dangerous fuperfluities or embezzlements would probably have been allowed to *Zemindars*, thofe neceffary fervile links in Eaftern defpotifm to connect the diftant extremes of *Prince* and

Reyut. Nothing beyond a ſplendid family ſubſiſtence, with juſt ſuch an overplus of income as might ſerve to ſupport official dignity, conſequential appearance, perſonal pre-eminence, and gentility. This, we believe, would have been the equitable political reſult of Mr. *Buſſey*'s ſcheme of finance, if he had been allowed to complete it; though the ignorant calumniators of that great man, without attending to the other inexhauſtible ſources of private wealth which he poſſeſſed, in commanding the entire miniſterial influence of the *Nizamut*, do not give his diſintereſtedneſs all the credit due to the arrangements, for the time, concluded as the annual revenues of the *Circars.*

Anarchy.

In April 1759, by the conqueſt of the fortreſs of *Maſſulipatam*, that great commanding bulwark, the virtual ſovereignty of all the maritime provinces, on either ſide from the river *Gondegama* to the *Chilca* lake, was abſolutely and neceſſarily trans-

ferred from the *French* to the *British* Government. The gallant officer, however, under whose command this new and amazing revolution had been effected, could not conceive the possibility of maintaining, under the rule of a mercantile establishment, territorial acquisitions of such vast extent. He contented himself, and still more fully his employers, in obtaining a formal grant for those districts only, which have since constituted the immediate dependencies of the conquered capital, from *Salabut Jung*, the *supposed* rightful ruler of the *Decan*, set up by *Bussy*; and left the viceroy in nominal possession of the remainder, lost in wonder at the generosity and moderation of the *English*, though utterly incapable, from court distractions, or the local circumstances of the country itself, thus dismembered from its head, to realise the derelicted boon. In consequence of which, for *seven* succeeding years, the completest anarchy, recorded in the History of *Hindostan*, prevailed over all the *five* greater *Northern Circars*. The forms, nay, even the remembrance, of civil government seemed to be wholly lost. Lords became vassals;

renters were called proprietors; and *Aumildars* changed condition with their inferior officers by accepting *Zemindary Russooms*, or yearly acknowledgments to leſſen the recorded value and ſtanding revenue of the lands. In 1761, an unconſtitutional reform was attempted under the ſanction of illegitimate authority. *Nizam Ally*, the brother of *Salabut Jung*, the actual viceroy, having ſometime before uſurped the general adminiſtration of affairs in the *Decan*, was ſo unfortunate in his tranſactions with the *Mahrattahs* as to be obliged to cede for ever to the *Peſhwa*, territories of the yearly value of *one crore* of rupees. The aſpiring Miniſter regarding the conſequent enfeebled ſtate of the *Nizamut*, rather as the effect of his brother's weakneſs and unworthineſs to rule, than of his own miſconduct, began to entertain thoughts of the *Muſnud*; and to anticipate the princely honours to which he had already been declared apparent heir. In this deſign he the more readily yielded his inferior charge, to a new court faction which roſe on the decline of his own popularity, on being permitted to levy contributions from the eaſtern

refractory provinces, which were to constitute a fund of corruption to assist him in his elevation. At that time *Hussen Ali Khan* acted in the capacity of *Aumildar* in the *Circars*. This man had in vain instigated the *English* Government to assert its rights; at the same time he found his authority curtailed in the exercise of his office, by the protection given to *Zemindars*. Among numberless instances of this kind, one *Codant Ram*, of *Derracotah*, a small, but compact, fruitful, and highly-cultivated *Pergunnah*, lying 15 miles south of *Massulipatam*, on the banks of the *Kistna*, had been invariably assessed in the books of the *Circar* of *Condapilly* for a revenue of rupees two lacks, nineteen thousand, four hundred and fifty-seven and six *annas*, (2,19,457,6). The gross *Mofussil* receipts exceeded this amount, in the sum of sixty thousand rupees, which defrayed the expence of internal management, such as *Sebundy*, with the *Russooms* and *Saverums* of the *Zemindar*, and other lesser officers of Government. *Codant Ram*, a sensible, intelligent man, and at this day, without exception, the most skilful farmer in any

of the provinces, according to popular eſtimation, availed himſelf of the prevailing diſtractions, on reinſtatement in the *Zemindary* management, from which he had been ſuſpended by the *French*, to obtain an annual diminution of his uſual rent on the plea of predatory and other loſſes ſuſtained by the inhabitants of the diſtrict in the period of his ſuſpenſion. He was ſeconded by the then Chief of *Maſſulipatam*, who, undoubtedly conceiving him aggrieved, interceded ſo powerfully in his behalf, that, for the ſmall additional conſideration of nine thouſand *Pagodas* paid to the *Aumildar*, the *Zemindary*, in the firſt inſtance, was only rated at forty-eight thouſand rupees on the general rent roll, though afterwards increaſed to 18,000 *pagodas* or ſeventy-two thouſand rupees, but with a continuation of the ſame annual douceur on ſettling the *Jummabundy*. In this ſituation of affairs, curtailed in power and emolument, *Huſſen Ali* ſolicited ſtrongly the known ambitious *Nizam Ali*, who had already ſet out in queſt of his pecuniary object, to viſit and reform his own diſtracted juriſdiction. The invitation

was gladly accepted, nor was the expedition fruitlefs. Titles and *Sunnuds* were lavifhly beftowed on the *Zemindars* for paying up arrears of revenue, or attaching them to the perfonal fortunes of the difcarded *Minifter*, who was meditating rebellion againft his brother, the immediate fovereign. Thefe favours, illegal, unfubftantial in themfelves, did not even in *form* transfer any of the rights of *Mogul* royalty; and were only a temporary confirmation of ancient grants to new ufurping landholders; every *Tahfeeldar*, or petty *Muffulman*, and *French* collector, held and exercifed the fame prerogative on their firft acceffion, or yearly fettlement of accounts; and the fees admitted of, on fuch occafions, were no inconfiderable benefit to all the officers of government. Neverthelefs, the privileges conferred, in this period of confufion, as coming from fuperior authority, and flattering to the vanity of upftart pretenders, became foon afterwards in fuch repute, that *forgeries* of them were common: *twenty* rupees could purchafe an impreffion of the counterfeit feal; and *eight annas* more might have alienated half the

regalities of *Hindoſtan*, as far as they were at the diſpoſal of an *adroit Perſian Mutſeddy*, or writer. But now a revolution was preparing from abroad to rectify theſe glaring abſurdities, and ſubſtitute conſtitutional rule in the room of the moſt licentious diſorders, oppreſſion, and tyrannical anarchy, which had actually reduced the *Nizam*'s receipts from all the provinces north of the *Kiſtna*, on a medium of five ſucceſſive years, to ſomething leſs than *three* lacks of rupees annually.

Britiſh Rule.

THIS was no other than the grand political change glorioufly begun ten years before, and finally executed in 1766 by the immediate atchievement, or under the auſpices of the immortal *Clive*, which increaſed the *Britiſh* Empire, not ſo particularly in the *Eaſt*, perhaps, as univerſally, to its greateſt ſplendour and magnitude; though at the ſame time, with reſpect to the *Circars*, it could only be conſidered as adding territorial poſſeſſion, under written

forms, to previous conquered right. *Sunnuds* the moſt ample and legal were procured from the actual, rightful, acknowlédged Emperor of *Hindoſtan*, transferring in perpetuity to the great *India* Company the entire, free, and unconditional ſovereignty of that portion of his hereditary dominions, the preſent object of conſideration, and then nominally under the weak factious adminiſtration of his delegate, or rather the ſelf-conſtituted viceroy of the *Decan*. An army of about 3000 ſeapoys at once enforced the grant, and terrified the *Nizam* into a ſolemn confirmation of it by treaty; but with a voluntary acknowledgement, on the part of the *Engliſh*, which, though of longer duration than originally expected, muſt be allowed ſufficiently to ſupport the national claim to generoſity and moderation. An inſidious combination and war, commenced a twelvemonth afterwards in return for ſuch ſubſtantial favour, ſoon glorioully terminated however by the battle of *Trinomalee*, 1768, ſerved only to ſtrengthen and give permanency to the tenure of theſe important recent acquiſitions, with rather a diminu-

tion of the *pecuniary gratuity*, erroneoufly called a *Pefhcufh*, or tribute, paid yearly on certain conditions to the *Soubah*, in confequence of the former negociation. Nor will it feem a matter of fo much furprife, that an incumbrance fo large, dangerous, and, as it afterwards appeared, fo ill beftowed, fhould have at all entered into the *original* agreement, or that an entire remiffion of it fhould not have formed an article of the *fecond*, when it is confidered, that in *both* cafes, conceffions the moft mortifying and infinitely of greater eftimation, were exacted and obtained for the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, the mortal enemy and declared rival of his fuperior, the *Nizam*; and a variety of other circumftances and political combinations oppofed a more advantageous fettlement; fuch as that the fphere of *Britifh* Government in the *Eaft* was but recently enlarged by the acquifition of extenfive territory; that men's minds, formed only to the contracted fcale of mercantile policy, were confequently unprepared inftantaneoufly to embrace objects fo various, complicated, and of fo vaft a fcope; or that if a few individuals

of ſuperior genius could be found who comprehended the theory, yet ſtill experience was wanting for the practice. That, on the other hand, the higheſt and moſt formidable ideas were then entertained of the power, pretenſions, and rights of the *Viceroy* of the *Decan*; that in proportion as the glare of theſe was to vaniſh from popular ſight, ſo the gratuitous tribute it commanded, was to be of ſhort duration, ſubject to many future contingencies, and at all events, agreeably to the law of nations as univerſally underſtood in the *Eaſt*, as well as to the ſpirit, and not contrary to the letter of ſubſiſting treaties, was abſolutely and finally to ceaſe on the death, or removal of the actual incumbent. Neither is to be wondered, even at this day, after a lapſe of full ſeventeen years of the moſt profound tranquillity, abundant produce, and commercial benefits, enjoyed, perhaps for the firſt time, for ages paſt in all the *Circars*, if the *Eaſt-India* Company have not as yet entirely entered into their leaſt equivocal and more undoubted proprietory rights. Their ſervants in this country are placed under the moſt embarraſſing, unrea-

ſonable circumſtances. The purſuit of *fortune* can be the only private object, to ſuffer probable death and certain loſs of health, in a foreign climate deſtitute of all natural or ſocial pleaſures, according to the bent of a tolerably well-finiſhed *European* education. Not only the moſt rigid reſtraints *formally* are oppoſed to the gratification of this ruling deſire originating from factitious neceſſity, but likewiſe all viſible means of ſubſiſtence are *actually* denied. At the ſame time the temptations in miniſterial offices are ſtrong, but not ſo much in the pride of holding them, as in their attendant emoluments. The virtue of the preſent age is weak; while refinements of the underſtanding are capable of finding out and reconciling evaſions of the *civil*, only to obey the more powerful *law* of *natural reaſon*. Prejudices are conſequently entertained at home againſt *Indian* adminiſtration in general. Theſe create diſguſt abroad. No incitements are held out for induſtry, improvement, or diſintereſted conduct. The evil becomes extreme: it is found to be deeply rooted in the original conſtitution of government; and if at all to be rectified, it can

only be through the lenient, wiſe, and powérful interpoſition of the Britiſh legiſlature. The taſk is begun, with ſome hopes of completion; yet if it ſhould appear in courſe of a vigorous proſecution, that millions have been loſt to the public in lieu of thouſands pocketted by individuals, it by no means follows that mere penal laws rigidly enforced by the moſt virtuous adminiſtration in the univerſe, will prove effectual, when due attention is not paid to the local circumſtances, and craving private intereſts of agents neceſſarily employed, at the diſtance of near half the globe from the high controling power, in large diſcretionary confidential truſts. Or rather, perhaps, according to a former obſervation, it may happen, that "ſhould reſtrictive laws be written in blood, and *Minos* himſelf the judge, unaccompanied by reaſon, they would be as the dead letter of tyranny, oppoſed by bold neceſſity, or eluded by the timid craft and villainy of ſlavery." But to return from this digreſſion to the ſubject of our hiſtorical detail, it is neceſſary to remark, that even after the formal ceſſion of the *Circars*, ſo liberally paid for by the Com-

pany, their arms had ſtill to ſubdue, at a great expence, the *Zemindars* of *Cicacole* and *Rajemundry*, inſtigated to be refractory through the former weakneſs, and preſent machinations of their ejected *Muſſulman* rulers; while the farming land-holders of *Ellore* and *Condapillee* more readily ſubmitted, under a written promiſe from the military commander, of the continuation of their privileges on certain conditions, which of courſe were never voluntarily to be fulfilled by a people, who the firſt time in the tradition of ages, had heard of ſtipulation, propoſed by conquerors. The fate of *Guntour* was ſingular: nor doth the poſſeſſion of it, yet complete the conquered granted right of ſovereignty. A ſeven-years leaſe of this province, granted to *Baſalut Jung*, by his brother *Salabut Jung*, the *viceroy*, to enable the *former* to entertain the party of *Frenchmen* to be expelled from the limits of the *Decan*, ignorantly deſcribed by the *River Kiſtna on the South*, and thus virtually ſet aſide the agreement entered into by the *latter* (in 1759) with the *Engliſh* Government, was juſt expired at the period of concluding the treaty of *Hydrabad* in 1766:

and though the *Nizam Ali*, the ſucceſſor of *Salabut Jung*, at this time would have conſidered the extermination of his brother the *Leſſee*, a more deſirable circumſtance than the renewal of his holding, and ſoon afterwards actually propoſed the alternative; yet as the latter proceeding curtailed the advantages of a more formidable natural enemy, and left great room for future contingencies, ſo the farm of *Guntour* was continued to *Baſalut Jung*, but under the erroneous deſcription of a *Jageer*, on conditions acknowledged to have been broken on his part in 1768, and always depending on the good will and pleaſure of his immediate proprietory ſuperiors, who at the ſame time enjoyed the moſt rightful, extenſive, and powerful ſovereignty actually exiſting in *Hindoſtan*. But ſtrange to relate! in 1779, we find the local repreſentatives of this mighty government change conditions with a petty vaſſal, and put themſelves on a footing with the little proprietor of the *Circar* of *Adoni*, to obtain the rental of *Guntour*, that they might have the honor of ſub-letting it to their greater feudatory *Naivaub* or deputy, the lately conſtituted *Soubahdar* of the *Car-*

natic, as in propriety he muſt be called, ſince there are no treaties, or circumſtances of equality, to authorize his being diſtinguiſhed as a federate ally, or otherwiſe. Such a reverſal of the natural order of things could not be of long duration. Ignorant, ambitious neighbouring rulers, conſtrued a total dereliction of dignity, right and power, into a conſcious incapacity of governing, unleſs through the vain medium of their own flattered ability and ſupremacy; and as an earneſt of greater acquiſitions, the *Nizam*, in November 1780, ſeized the province in queſtion; which was now ordered to be evacuated by the *Engliſh* troops, and has, from a ſeries of (to him) fortunate circumſtances, continued in his poſſeſſion even beyond the period of its final, abſolute reverſion to the company on the 5th of October 1782, when death put an end to all and ſingular pretenſions of *Baſalut Jung*.

The reſulting benefits of occupancy therefore ſhould not be eſtimated by an *annual* revenue of *twelve lacks* of *rupees* which might have been received, with only

a deduction of *two* for the firſt year paid to the ſuſpended *Jageerdar* ; nor by the local importance of, and military or political conſequence derived from, the territory itſelf; but ought to be computed rather according to the Britiſh loſs, in ſuffering, though it muſt be acknowledged, hitherto from ſad neceſſity, or expediency, through temporary embarraſſments, ſuch large advantages to be quietly enjoyed by a natural, inſidious, contemptible enemy.

"After the death of *Baſalut Jung*, Lord *Cornwallis* liquidated all accounts with the *Nizam*, and obtained poſſeſſion of the *Guntour*. The Company paid him a large balance for arrears, and entered into engagements for the regular payment of the whole annual *tribute* of ſeven *lacks*!" and Mr. *Ruſſell* informs us * "that the *law officers* of the *Company* have given it as their opinion that the *ſovereignty* remains in *the country powers*, and *that no courts of judicature can be inſti-*

* Short Hiſtory, 2d. edit. page 72, opinions of the Company's Advocate General and Solicitor General, *Fort St. George*, July, 1783.

tuted but by the authority of the Mogul or his Soubah!" from the authority I have above ſtated, I deny abſolutely the fact which Mr. *Ruſſell* contends, "that the *Circars* were never conquered by the Company, and that it will not be liable to account for the revenues of them to the public, after the expiration of the preſent act." * The ſovereignty of the *Circars*, according to legal conſtruction of *Indian* grants, being more clearly in favour of *Great Britain* than it is in *Bengal*, the ſooner ſuch erroneous and ruinous opinions are denied, and impolitic conceſſions are diſtinguiſhed from juſtice and policy, the ſooner we ſhall be able to render the ſubjects of *Britiſh India* proſperous, and to eſtabliſh the intereſts and honor of the *Britiſh* Government.

* Short Hiſtory, page 72.

CHAP. XVII.

On the competition of the French *and* English *for territory in* India.

THE curfory review of the *French* and *Englifh* affairs in *India*, involves in it fo much of the political hiftory of *India*, that a feparate treatife inftead of a chapter, would be ufefully devoted to the fubject. I fhall only ftate fo much as may recall to our memory the real origin and pretenfions of the prefent native and European fovereigns, to their refpective dominions in *India*.

The progrefs of the *Englifh* from the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was flow, until *Bombay* and *St. Helena* became a part of the *Britifh* empire, by the marriage of King *Charles* II. with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, and were granted to the *Eaft-India* Company. The creation of the new company in 1697, which foon was incorporated with the old

Company into the exiſting Company of united merchants trading to the *Eaſt Indies*, is in fact the date of the extended commerce of *Great Britain* in *India*.

The excluſive privileges granted by *Henry* the IVth of *France*, in 1604, to merchants, and of *Louis* XIV. in 1664, to a *French* company trading to the *Eaſt Indies*, were followed by their ſettlement at *Surat* in 1667, and at *Pondicherry* in 1676, on a grant from *Sagoge* the *Mahrattah* conqueror of the *Carnatic*, who made himſelf King of *Tanjore*.

It was after the peace of *Ryſwick* that both nations, in imitation of the *Dutch*, connected commercial adventurers under the control of poltical adminiſtration; the union of *Engliſh Eaſt-India* adventurers into one company, and its connection with the ſtate ſubſequent to that period, has been ſufficiently explained. The *French*, in the year 1719, formed four companies, viz. the Company trading to the *Eaſt Indies*, to *China*, to *America*, and to *Africa*, into

one company, called the perpetual company of the *Indies*. The rivalſhip of *France* was limited to commerce, till after *Nadir Shah* had invaded *Hindoſtan*. The *French* company was empowered to raiſe troops and erect fortifications for the defence, and preſervation of its ſettlements; * and the crown of *France* publicly engaged to aſſiſt with its navies and armies, in caſe the company was troubled in its poſſeſſions by the enemies of the ſtate †.

The *Engliſh* obtained greater privilege in *Bengal* than the *French*, from the *Mogul*, in 1715, who, however, forbade the erection of fortifications; and the *French* had obtained permiſſion to ſettle in the *Carnatic*, from *Sagoge*, the *Mahrattah*, on the expreſs condition that they would not take any part in his wars; ‡ and it appears that both nations "ſaw no violence to be apprehended from a people who had a juſt idea of commerce, and a Government at that time

* 26 Art. Edict of 1664.

† Memoire de la Compagnie des *Indes*, 1763, p. 10.

‡ Ibid. and Revolut. des *Indes*, t. 1, p. 67.

well adminiſtered ; they built with very little view of defence, and carried on their trade free from oppreſſion." * The correſpondence of the *Engliſh* Governor, in 1730, was probably in the ſame terms as *le Sieur Le Noir*, the French Governor, " I will ſend you as much merchandize, as you will ſend me money to pay for ;" † and King *Alfred*'s miſſioner to the Chriſtians of *St. Thomas* probably did not find the *Syrian* merchants more intent on their commerce, than the company's ſervants were on the ſame ſpot in 1740. The able and gallant *Mahé de la Bourdonnois*, ſent with the *French* King's and company's commiſſion, as Governor of *Bourbon*, in 1746, began to trade with an armed force, and took *Madras*, which he reſtored for a conſiderable ranſom. It is even ſaid ‡ in 1748, when Admiral *Boſcawen* brought a force to retaliate by an attack of *Pondicherry*, the troops were ſtopt near the *French* limits, by the fort

* Lord *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1764.
† Memoire de la Compagnie, page 11.
‡ *Orme*, Vol. I. page 101.

Ariancopany, of which no one could give any deſcription to the General.

Two circumſtances, however, had materially altered the company's relation to *India*, excluſive of the armed force from *Europe*, conveyed ſo far, to diſpute the ſuperiority between the *French* and *Engliſh*, rivals in every part of the globe *. "The *Soubahs* of diſtant provinces diſcovered the weakneſs, to which the power of the Emperor was reduced, by the invaſion of *Nadir Shah*: they were no longer reſtrained by fear; each aſſumed and exerciſed ſovereign authority over his province, and looked on his government as an heritage to his family." The *Nizam Ul Moolk*, great chancellor and generaliſſimo of the empire, had under his juriſdiction (the *Decan)* near one fourth of the empire, in which without rebellion, he made himſelf nearly independant of the *Mogul*; he openly cenſured the lethargic conduct, and profligate manners of the court of *Mahomed Shah*, and had adviſed *Thomas Kouli Khan* to invade *Hin-*

* Lord *Clive*'s Letter to the proprietors.

doftan, * and retired from court. He left his eldeft fon, *Gazi Ul Dien,* in high favour with the *Mogul*; and in 1748, † he was one of the confpirators who occafioned the Emperor's death. The *Nizam*'s fecond fon, *Nazir Jung,* during his father's refidence at *Delhi,* had governed in his name in the *Decan*; he revolted, and it required all the force of the *Nizam* to reduce him. *Muzafa Jung* fon of the *Nizam*'s only daughter, was entrufted with the government of *Adoni,* and was his favourite. When the *Perfian* had overrun *Hindoftan,* and reftored to the *Mogul* the countries to the eaft of the *Indus* and *Attock,* the *Nizam* was relieved from the fear of this progrefs; but he was not fufficiently confident in the *Mogul*'s good will, to venture to march againft ufurpers in the diftant parts of the *Nizamut,* to check the defection from his own government; he invited the *Mahrattahs* to plunder the country, when he could not protect the tributary *Rajahs* from *Mahomedan* ufurpation.

* *Orme,* Vol. I.
† *Buffey*'s Letters.

The *Mogul*, unable to defend the part of his empire around *Delhi* from *Abdalla*, or the provinces of *Bengal* from his *Soubahs*, was alſo under the neceſſity of calling on foreign aid. The *Europeans*, in every inſtance in which they did not counteract each other, eſtabliſhed a deciſive ſuperiority.

The other circumſtance, which altered the relation of the *Europeans*, to natives, aroſe from the ability of Mr. *Dupleix*, appointed in 1720, firſt counſellor of the ſuperior council of *Pondicherry*, commiſſary of war, and director of the *Comptoir* of *Chandernagor*, in 1731. During ten years at *Pondicherry*, he had been the active aſſiſtant of the Governor *Le Noir*, he *introduced* the private trade between the ports in *India*, and had amaſſed a conſiderable fortune. When he arrived in *Bengal*, a new ſcene opened to him; and during the eleven years he ſtayed there, that ſettlement was augmented by 2000 brick houſes,* and the number of ſhips employed gave jealouſy

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, page 15.

to other factories, and increased his private fortune to some millions of *rupees*; the oppression by which the native usurpers supported their independance, was now become necessary, " in their turn the *Europeans* were oppressed; Mr. *Dupleix* was the first who took the alarm, and the first who discovered the superiority of *European* discipline; from hence he was led to the idea of acquiring a territorial sovereignty." * The scene of his action was in the *Decan*; he was appointed, in 1742, Governor General of *India*, and Governor of *Pondicherry*. During the government of his predecessor, Mr. *Dumas*, the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic* availed himself of the critical situation of the Emperor, and of his immediate superior, the *Nizam*, at the period *Thamas Kouli Khan* attacked *Hindostan*, to throw off dependance on either. *Doast Ali Khan*, to confirm his dependance as *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, permitted *Subder Ali* his presumptive heir, and *Chundah Saheb* his son-in-law, to invade *Trichinopoly*, capital of *Madura*, one of the kingdoms the *Mogul* had left tributary under its own

* Lord *Clive*'s Letter to the proprietors.

government *, and which had maintained itſelf againſt the *Mahrattah* conqueror. The king of *Tanjore* at that time applied to the *French* for ſuccour, and for the ſum of 3000 *Pagodas*. *Carikal* and its territory were ceded to the *French*; the death and defeat of *Sagogi*, and the delays of the new king of *Tanjore* retarded that acquiſition till the year 1739. About the ſame period the *French* acquired the privilege of coining; they had obtained it in 1736, by the *Sunnud* of *Mahommed Shah*; † they had it alſo from the *Nizam*, but they thought it neceſſary to have the *Sunnud* alſo of the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*. ‡ Mr. *Dumas* obtained this permiſſion from the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, through his treaſurer, who was the *Nabob* of *Arcot*. §

The *French* government gained advantages and credit by looking on at the revolution in the *Carnatic*. The widow of the

* Memoire de la Compagnie, page 24.
† Eſſais Hiſtorique ſur l'Inde.
‡ Revolut. des *Indes*, T. 1, p. 74.
§ Memoire de la Compagnie, p. 12.

Rajah, who governed *Madura*, and reſided at *Trichinopoly*, reſiſted the attack of the *Carnatic* army for ſix months. *Chundah Saheb* at length offered a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and was admitted into *Trichinopoly* on his ſwearing by the *Koran* not to renew them. The queen however was the firſt victim; her treaſures were ſeized; the uſurper proclaimed himſelf *Nabob* of *Trichinopoly*.

The *Nizam* invited *Ragogi Bonſolo*, a *Mahrattah* Prince, to reduce the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, and reſent his uſurpation and treacherous barbarity. *Doaſtan Ali Khan* oppoſed the *Mahrattahs*, and was killed fighting gallantly at the head of his army, which was routed. His widow and family fled to the gates of *Pondicherry* to implore protection, which Mr. *Dumas* gave to them. *Ragogi* demanded them; but when ſummoned to give up the widow and the remainder of *Doaſtan Alli Khan*'s family and riches, the *French* Governor anſwered, "You ſay you are going to take *Gingy*; that depends on your will: we ſhall find arms and ſoldiers, which, however, we ſhall not employ but againſt thoſe who attack us un-

juftly :" and he added, that the family of *Doaftan Ali Khan* and *Chundah Saheb* experienced only that hofpitality and protection which he would give, with the fame good faith, to any Gentile prince who fhould reclaim it *. *Ragogi Bonfolo* proceeded with his army to *Trichinopoly*, where, after three months fiege, *Chundah Saheb* was forced, by fcarcity of provifions, to furrender, after his brother, *Bara Saheb*, in a defperate attempt to raife the fiege, had loft his life. *Ragogi* loaded *Chundah Saheb* and his eldeft fon with irons, and carried them, with all the treafure he had collected, to his own country. He left *Sabder Ali Khan* at *Arcot*, who foon after was affaffinated at *Velour*, leaving a fon fix years old. After the retreat of the *Mahrattahs*, the *Nizam* came into the *Carnatic*, to reftore his authority, with 100,000 men. He poffeffed himfelf of *Trichinopoly*; he fettled the tribute with the King of *Tanjore*, and gave the government of the *Carnatic* and *Madura* to the infant fon of *Sabder Ali Khan*, and appointed the *Nabob* of

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 27.

Cicacole, named *Anwur Ul Dien Khan* *, regent. He was not long installed before the child was murdered. It has been made a question whether *Anwur Ul Dien* †, or *Chundah Saheb* instigated the murder‡: notwithstanding the former, from regent, installed himself *Nabob*, and maintained for himself the government; and the latter was at that time prisoner with *Ragogi*, who had imposed so high a sum as his ransom, that his fortune seemed desperate. All this passed in 1743, the year after *Dupleix* had begun his administration; his mercantile concerns had pervaded *India*, and; according to his account, the *Mogul* had conferred dignities on him. He had been made *Nabob* 4½ *Azary*, *Kammun-Soubdar*, *Zafferzingue Badour* §: and he explained these titles in a letter of the 7th of October, 1742; adding, "The greatest advantages of these titles are the revenues annexed to them, which are very consider-

* Called by the *French*, *Anaverdikan*.

† Mem. de *Dupleix*, p. 41.

‡ Mem. de la Comp. p. 28.

§ Ibid. p. 29.

able; but it is not proper to demand them, becaufe to the revenue is annexed the obligation of furnifhing the contingent of cavalry for the army whenever it is required *."

Though he affected to defpife *ces frivolités*, he was in fact an *umpire* between the ufurpers in the *Carnatic*.

Before *Labordonnois* took *Madras*, in 1746, *Dupleix* had engaged to give it up to *Anwur Ul Dien Khan* †. *Labordonnois*, without *Dupleix*'s knowledge, ranfomed the town. Thefe oppofite arrangements prevented *Dupleix* from fulfilling his own engagements; but he would not confirm the quiet poffeffion to the *Englifh*. *Anwur Ul Dien Khan* marched againft the *French* at *Madras*; and *Dupleix* not being able to crufh him, after fome warfare, entered into new agreements; and the *Nabob*'s fon

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 29.

† Ibid. p. 31.

was received at *Pondicherry* with great honours, in 1747 *.

While *Dupleix* had been in treaty to give up *Madras* to *Anwur Ul Dien*, *Chundah Saheb*, from his prison, negociated the aid of *Dupleix* to pay his ransom, and to depose *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*; in 1745 the *French* Governor lent 240,000 livres of the Company's cash to *Chundah Saheb* towards paying his ransom; and in October *Dupleix* informed the Company, that an army of *Mahrattahs* might be expected to establish *Chundah Saheb*, *Nabob* of the *Carnatic* †. *Chundah Saheb*, however, failed in obtaining the aid of the *Mahrattahs*: he went to the *Nizam*'s court, who would not favour his ambition: the year 1749 opened a new scene which favoured his pretensions.

The *Nizam Ul Moolk* died; his second son, *Nazir Jung*, who had been associated in the Government, and commanded the army, immediately assumed the *Soubahship*

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 31.
† Ibid. p. 32.

of the *Decan*; he obtained alſo a *Sunnud* from the *Mogul. Chundah Saheb* went inſtantly to *Muzafa Jung*, the favourite grandſon of the late *Soubah*, then *Nabob* of *Adoni*, and offered his aſſiſtance and that of Mr. *Dupleix* to ſupport his pretenſions to the *Soubahſhip*, if, in return, he would inſtall him the *Nabob* of *Arcot*, and diſpoſſeſs *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*. On this agreement the proper *Paravanas* were diſpatched; the embaſſy to *Pondicherry* was received, in the beginning of 1749, with great *eclat*. The Governor, without conſulting the ſuperior council, engaged to put all the troops of the Company in the pay of *Chunda Saheb* from the 1ſt of March; who in return gave Mr. *Dupleix* all the territory of *Villenour*, conſiſting of 42 *aldees*, ſituated near *Pondicherry*; in July 1749, the council confirmed his agreement.

The *French* army marched in July to *Arcot*, was joined by *Muzafa Jung*'s army, and near the fort *Amour*, *Anwur Ul Dien Khan*, aged 107 years, gallantly maintained the conteſt: the *French* rallied three times, and the old man being killed, the victory

was complete. The treaſure and pillage of the camp was eſtimated at two millions of *pagodas*, which the *French* took: *Mahomed Ali Khan*, the ſon of the old *Nabob*, eſcaped to *Trichinopoly*.

From the letters of the Company to their Governor at *Pondicherry* it is evident they knew very little of native princes: their errors are adduced as evidence of *Dupleix*'s having deceived them*, though his plans are not to be miſtaken in his letters. "I will procure a kingdom in *India*, and make you as much reſpected as other powers, by dethroning two princes, and placing in their ſtates *Chundah Saheb* and *Muzafa Jung*. I will extend your poſſeſſions to the gates of *Delhi*; and, at the bare name of *Frenchman*, all, to the *Mogul*, ſhall tremble in *Hindoſtan*. Commerce hitherto has entirely engroſſed you; let us abandon to the *Engliſh*, and to our rivals, that object of their jealouſy, and let us prepare by our conqueſts to give them regrets a thouſand times

* Letter of the Company, July 15, 1750.

more bitter than thoſe which have been cauſed by our ſucceſs in commerce *."

The treaſures of the *Nizamut* having been ſeized by *Nazir Jung*, the treaſures of *Tanjore* became the firſt object of *Muzafa Jung* and his *Nabob.* In policy he ought to have purſued *Mahommed Ali* to *Trichinopoly*; but at that period the hereditary right of *Mahommed Ali* was no title, though he was the beſt competitor to oppoſe to *Chundah Saheb*; and a ſupply of money was of greater importance to *Muzafa Jung* than the life of *Mahommed Ali.* The King of *Tanjore* called on the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* to aſſiſt him; and *Muzafa Jung* and *Chunda Saheb* loſt a month in a fruitleſs attempt to take *Tanjore*, which *Mahommed Ali* employed in ſtrengthening *Trichinopoly*; when the *French* with their allies were obliged to collect their forces to oppoſe *Nazir Jung*, who nominated *Mahommed Ali Nabob* of *Arcot*, and entered the *Carnatic* at the head of 120,000 men,

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 24.

and received homage from the *English* *. The *French* troops mutinied; *Dupleix*, however, joined *Chundah Saheb*'s troops under the walls of *Pondicherry*: *Muzafa Jung*, intimidated, surrendered himself to his uncle, who punished his competition by loading him with irons, and proceeded against the *French* and *Chundah Saheb*. *Dupleix*, on the approach of the *Nizam*, *Nazir Jung*, opened a negociation; and on the 28th of April he surprised a part of the *Nizam*'s camp, and defeated his army.—After this check *Nazir Jung* retreated to *Arcot*, but returned the October following with 85,000 men, 700 elephants, and 360 pieces of ordnance. *Dupleix* again negociated; the *Nizam* having experienced considerable loss, and unwilling that his standard should again retire without victory, received the deputies, and confirmed to the *French* all their former grants. It is evident *Dupleix* had placed his great dependance on a secret negociation with some *Patan* officers and disaffected chiefs; for, before the final conclusion of the negocia-

* *Orme*, Vol. I.

tion, the *French* forces attacked the *Nizam*'s army, three parts of which remained inactive; and when the *Nizam* shewed himself to the army on his elephant, he was shot by one of his *Patan* generals, and the battle ceased*. *Muzafa Jung* was released, and succeeded to the *Nizamut* with the consent of both armies: the investiture over, all the *Nabobs* swore, on the *Koran*, inviolable fidelity to the *new Soubah*, and the *French* interest was re-established.—Some of the same *Patan* chiefs revolted, and *Muzafa Jung* was killed in the engagement. *Bussy* repaired this new misfortune, by immediately promoting *Salabut Jung*, brother to *Nazir Jung*, to the *Nizamut*.

It has been said that *Salabut Jung* was the eldest surviving son of *Nizam Ul Moolk*; he was the eldest of the brothers then prisoners with the army of the *Nizam* in the *Carnatic*. His elder brother, *Gazi Ul Dien* †, obtained the *Mogul*'s *Phirmaund* for the *Nizamut*, and marched against *Sala-*

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 48.

† Ibid. p. 62. Lettres de *Bussy*, June 1752.

but Jung and *Buſſy*; fortunately this rival died, and enabled them to unite all their force againſt *Balaje Row*, the *Mahrattah*, who had invaded part of the *Decan* near *Aurengabad*, and had agreed to ſupport the *Engliſh* in maintaining *Mahommed Ali* in the *Carnatic*, by a detachment of 30,000 men from his armies. *Buſſy* had the ability to make a treaty with *Balaje Row*, and to confirm *Salabut Jung* in the *Nizamut*. The ſcene was now ſo complicated, and the rapid ſucceſſion of events had diſſipated ſo much treaſure, that even *Buſſy* thought it neceſſary to appriſe the Company of his opinion. In 1752 Mr. *Buſſy* wrote to Mr. *Dupleix*, that it was evident the *Mogul* Empire was near its extinction, and the *Mahrattahs*, riſing on its ruin, would ſoon be maſters of *Hindoſtan**. The *Nizam*'s *Duan* had informed *Buſſy*, that there was no money in the treaſury; the *Nizam* could find no reſource but to quit the interior of the *Decan* to collect contribution from the *Carnatic*.

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 63.

The *French* treasury was exhausted, having maintained the forces of the *Nizam* and of their Company for two years. The *Shroffs* were not to be persuaded to lend more money; and the peace with *Balaje Row* had been obtained, from expectation that the *French* would be better able to second his private views of aggrandisement than the *English**. The *French* settlement in the *Circar* of *Rajemundry* had been plundered by *Nazir Jung*. Mr. *Montaran* informed *Dupleix*†, that two years peace had not restored commerce; and that guarding against probable interruptions of projects for empire was as expensive as war; various plans were proposed.

Mr. *Duquesne*'s correspondence with Mr. *Dupleix* suggested the value of *Tanjore*, and the real facility of defending it against all *India*; and that by taking possession of the river of *Pegu*, the projects of the *English* might be defeated, and its exclusive trade secured.

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 57, Feb. 1752.

† Ibid. p. 65.

Bussy, however, cautioned *Dupleix* against falling again too deeply in complicated plans: he informed him, "that he had no idea of the Government of the *Mogul*; of the internal management of the country, of their manners, and character of the natives *;" and that the safest way would be not to meddle with any of their affairs: and he fairly told him, that it was difficult to send a person capable of conducting the interests of an *European* nation in *India*. "D'ailleurs, si vous pouviez être tenté de vous reembarquer, je ne vois pas trop, a vous parler naivement, qui vous pouviez charger d'une commission si délicate †." *Bussy* at that time was returning, on account of his ill health, to *Massulipatam*; and he had no sooner quitted *Salabut Jung*, than a change of administration took place. The *French* troops were discontinued from being the *Nizam*'s body guard, and the rivals of the *French* and their native enemies formed the new council of the *Soubah*. The *Paravana* of the

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 64.

† *Bussy*'s Letter, Nov. 29, 1752.

Carnatic, which *Salabut Jung* had given in 1751, for the confirmation of which, by the *Mogul*, 100,000 rupees had been remitted to *Delhi* by the *French* *, was of little avail on this emergency. *Dupleix* urged *Buſſy* to return to *Aurengabad*, which he did; and, by his deciſion and perſonal ability, reinſtated the old adminiſtration, and obtained the grant of the *Circars*, that the *French* might, from that ſource of revenue, pay their own troops, independant of the *Carnatic* treaſury, intended to be eſtabliſhed by the *Nixam* at *Pondicherry*. The *Engliſh* policy obviouſly was to countermine the *French* policy, and to ſupport *Mahommed Ali* againſt the *Nizam*'s *Nabob*, *Chundah Saheb*. Their allies were ſome *Mahrattah* Chiefs, the King of *Tanjore*, the *Nabob* of *Velour*. *Dupleix*, by the aid of *Buſſy*, rendered the *French* intereſt prevalent in the *Decan*; in vain did he remonſtrate with Governor *Saunders* againſt the aid given to *Mahommed Ali*. The arms of the *Engliſh*, and more particularly the riſing influence and ability of *Clive*, who ſerved

* Mem. de la Comp.

under Major *Lawrence*, prevailed in the *Carnatic*. The difobedience and want of ability of *Law*, oppofed to *Lawrence*, began the reverfe of *Dupleix*'s fortunes, and proved fatal to *Chundah Saheb*: by raifing the feige of *Trichinopoly*, *Law* and the *Nabob* were in their turn cooped up in *Siringham*. The mercenary allies were bribed to defert *Chundah Saheb*, who furrendered his army and treafures on the moft folemn engagement of a fafe guard to the *French* fettlement. Major *Lawrence*, the *Mahrattahs*, and *Mahommed Ali*, could not truft each other with the prifoner, and he was murdered in cold blood. In 1752 *Clive* purfued his career againft the *French*, took *Law* prifoner, and eftablifhed the credit of the *Englifh*. In November 1752 *Buffy* advifed *Dupleix* to make the beft peace he could with the *Englifh* and *Mahommed Ali*, becaufe the *Englifh*, at *Bombay*, were in negociation with *Balaje Row*; and notwithftanding that chief's alliance with the *French*, he was not unlikely to be gained over to declare in favour of *Mahommed Ali*; and he wifely obferved, that war cannot but be fatal to *Europeans* fo long as they arm

against each other *. *Dupleix* was superseded by *Godeheu* in 1753.

It is remarkable, from the transactions of the *English* as well as of the *French*, how rapidly the influence and superiority of *Europeans* were established, after the disorders of the empire admitted of their interference. In 1744, when Commodore *Barnet* appeared on the coast of *Coromandel*, the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, *Anwur Ul Dien*, informed the Governor of *Madras*, that "the *English* on the coast were, equally with the *French*, obliged to respect his Government; and, if they did not confine their warfare with the *French* to the sea, the *Town of Madras* should answer for their disobedience †."

When *Labordonnois*, in 1746, took *Madras*, and promised to ransom it, *Dupleix* withheld it from the *English*; he was counteracted, in his own engagements, to give up the settlement to the *Nabob*, by

* Mem. de la Comp. p. 77, Nov. 1752.

† *Orme*, Vol. I. p. 2.

which he had averted the *Nabob*'s interference; and when he kept possession, the *Nabob* did march against *Dupleix*, and, after a little skirmishing, settled by negociation, though both parties were aware of their want of sincerity. This, however, was the first instance in which *Dupleix* discovered his pretensions to the right of dispossessing the *English*, under his authority, as Governor General *: he was supported by his court; for *Labordonnois*, on his return from his expedition, was kept three years in the Bastille, and died soon after his acquital: *Dupleix*'s defence of *Pondicherry*, in 1748, not only maintained his credit, but also tended to the establishing *Mazafa Khan* in the *Nizamut*, and *Chundah Saheb* in the Government of the *Carnatic*. The *Sunnuds* of *Dupleix* have been disputed; but it cannot be denied that they promoted his negociations with native princes, at a period when the title of the grantor was so complicated; and in 1750, when the *English* had determined, without appearing principals in the war, to support *Mahommed*

* *Orme*, Vol. I. p. 2.

Ali as *Nabob* of *Arcot*, and obtained a grant of territory round *Madras*, they ſent deputies to *Nazir Jung*, at that time ſupported by Major *Lawrence* and a battalion of *Engliſh*, to ſolicit the confirmation of *Mahommed Ali*'s grant: but *Shanavez Khan*, Miniſter of *Nazir Jung*, who had alſo been Miniſter of *Nizam Ul Moolk*, and was the decided enemy of *Chundah Saheb*, poſitively refuſed to iſſue a *Firmaund*. Major *Lawrence*, wearied with prevarications, inſiſted on a peremptory anſwer, when he was aſſured by *Nazir Jung*, tha the ſhould be immediately ſatisfied, provided he would march with his battalion to *Arcot*, where *Nazir Jung* had determined to go with his whole army. He did not think it prudent to comply with this propoſal, leſt the *French* and *Chundah Saheb* ſhould take advantage of his abſence, and invade the *Engliſh* ſettlements*: It has been aſſerted, againſt the *French* honour, that they had obtained from *Nazir Jung* a confirmation of all their former grants, by negociation, at the time they excited

* *Orme*, Vol. I. p. 49.

the revolt of his *Patan* Generals; and in 1753, it required much cavil to invalidate the patents which they adduced, though the *English* did not produce any. The *English* Governor found Mr. *Godeheu*, the immediate ſucceſſor to *Dupleix*, totally ignorant of *India*, and led him into a treaty to eſtabliſh amity and commerce, by equaliſing the advantages of both countries in *India*. The firſt reading of the negociation in *France* dictated the words of the *French* Miniſter, which cloſed the conferences in London, in 1754. " *Le Roi n'entendoit point que la Compagnie des* Indes *de* France *reçut la Compagnie* Anglaiſe *." And it is clear that the proviſional treaty and truce were not in conformity to the King's orders. " *Les circonſtances* ne m'ayant pas permis de me conformer totalement a vos inſtructions," were the words of Governor *Godeheu*, when he ſent home his treaty with Governor *Saunders*. He himſelf did not wait the arrival of his ſucceſſor, Mr. *Leyrit*; and during the adminiſtration of *Godeheu*, and of the Commiſſioners whom he left

* Mem. de *Dupleix*, p. 129.

to adminifter until his fucceffor fhould arrive, it required all the intelligence of Mr. *Moracin*, and the ability and exertion of *Buffy*, to keep the interefts of *France* in any degree together.

Mr. *Ruffell* infifts on diftinguifhing the town and dependencies of *Maffulipatam* from the *Circars*, and refers to Mr. *Dupleix*'s memoirs, in which its revenue is ftated diftinctly from thofe of the *Circars* *. I cannot reject the reference, becaufe no better authority can be referred to. I read in that memoire Mr. *Dupleix*'s opinion of the negociations, and the extent of the facrifice which the *French* made when they met the *Englifh*, to treat for equality of poffeffion and influence, as the means of balancing the *French* and *Englifh* Companies in *India*.

Mr. *Dupleix* obferves " that *Godeheu* had renounced the benefit of a patent of *Nabob* to all the *French* Governors of *Pondicherry*, and that this title was not empty, for *Salabut Jung* had appointed the *Nabob* o

* Short Hiftory, page 60

the *Carnatic*, with expreſs orders that his treaſure, or the *Caiſſe General* of the province, ſhould be depoſited at *Pondicherry*, and the armies of *France* ſhould be paid out of the revenues of the *Soubah* *; but excluſive of the contingent benefit of native alliances, the negociation had proceeded on ignorance, not only of *India*, and of the intereſts of *France*, but of the hiſtory of mankind; for in general every nation conducts its own affairs according to its own views in a country, where all *Europeans* have equal rights, and where nations are not reſponſible to each other for the means they employ to extend their commerce, and increaſe or ſecure their eſtabliſhments †; the intereſt maritime powers of *Europe* have to extend political maxims of equality to *India* by proportions underſtood in *Europe*, ſince *Indian* commerce exiſted, has been, and will be, found impracticable; for perpetual opportunity will offer to overſet it, ariſing from the quarrels and perſonal intereſts of native ſtates in *India*."

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, p. 131.

† Ibid. page 135.

Dupleix asks, "whether if the *Dutch* and *English*, when they became rivals of the *Portuguese*, had proposed to equalise their possessions, the *Portuguese* would not have considered the proposal as a derision? The *English*, acting by open force, acquired, by right of conquest, advantages they could not expect to gain otherwise: it was the same with the *Dutch*; and these in relation to the *Danes*: the result has not produced equality of commerce and possessions among those three nations."

But to revert to the evidence of Mr. *Dupleix*, whether the financial division of *Massulipatam* was also a political and geographical distinction. He expressly says that *Massulipatam* and the other places named in the articles were part of the province or *Circar* of *Rajemundry*, one of the *Circars* given by the *Soubah* of the *Decan* to pay the *French* army.*

Mr. *Moracin*, in 1754, expresses his surprize that any one should advise the *French*

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, p. 142.

to abandon *Massulipatam* and *Divi*, to preserve in peace *Nizampatnam* and *Condavir*. "Whoever made the overture knew neither the *Carte du pays* nor the interests of the Company. It was fortunate (if it is true that the proposal was made by us to the *English*) that the *English* Company was as ignorant as our own company; for I can venture to assert, the *English* would not have rejected an offer which led directly to our entire and instant expulsion from this part of the *Decan* *." It is not important to enter farther on a subject so fully treated by Mr. *Dupleix*, Mr. *Moracin*, and Mr. *Bussy*, in their memoires respecting this treaty, in which the *English* had as much more the advantage over *Godeheu*, as *Dupleix* had before over the *English*. It is however not by idle assertion that *Dupleix* exposes the ignorance of his successor; and it appears that the negociations of the two *European* Governors, for the first time, treated about territory without any reference to the native princes; an innovation Mr. *Bussy*, in better times of the *Soubah*, would not have carried by his

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, p. 154.

ability; for it appears that *Salabut Jung* was neither ignorant of the treaty nor of its consequences, as appears in Mr. *Bussy*'s letter of 15th October 1755. The *Nizam* represented against the determination to support *Mahommed Ali*. "If they consider him in *Europe* to be a prince who has a right to the *Carnatic*, it is an error in them, but it would be a folly in *Mahommed Ali*, of which I will not accuse him, for on all occasions he gives me no other name but master, and he solicits to be received in favour; in short, he knows that he is no more than a gentleman, such as you have seen his elder brother *Mazousa-Khan*, who deserves to lose his head for the troubles he has occasioned; and yet, as you know, the state of my affairs requires the aid of the *Europeans*; I cannot dispense with them; I must either get the *English* in my interests, or you (Mr. *Bussy*) must remain: hitherto I have been satisfied: are you at present without the inclination or the power to serve me? *" In this delicate situation *Bussy* was forced to act on his own judgement, contrary to the

* Memoire de Dupleix, page 164.

impracticable directions of *Godeheu.** He marched with *Salabut Jung* against the *Rajah* of *Myfore*, and had the addrefs to recover 52 lacks of tribute due to the *Nizam*, and effentially to ferve the *Rajah*, an ally of *France*, by overawing *Balaje Row*, who had advanced toward *Myfore*, with an intention to invade it. At this period Mr. *Leyrit*, the new governor, arrived at *Pondicherry*; he entered into *Buffy*'s plans, and wrote in July 1755, that he forefaw the moment the *Englifh* could deftroy his footing with *Salabut Jung*, the *French* would be inferior to their rivals, who would not fhew them the moderation which they now require from him, † and that the projected equality would in fact prove a decided fuperiority. The ability of *Buffy* confirmed to the *French* the *Circars*, which had been granted in 1753, and he took the neceffary meafures to render them a fund of refource, to make his nation independant of the precarious fupply of native allies, whofe courts had lately been affailed by the intrigues of

* Memoire de *Dupleix*, page 165.
† Ibid, p. 171.

two powerful *European* rivals. At this period *Buſſy* had regained his influence and credit; he was connected with the *Grand Vizier*; had received very flattering letters from the *Mogul*, and his influence over the *Nizam* was as extenſive as the " timid diſpoſition of *Salabut Jung** was capable of giving to any one." The influence of *Shaveneſe Khan*, miniſter of *Nizam Ul Moolk*, had at all times been adverſe to the *French* intereſt, and *Chundah Saheb* had reaſon to impute much of his early misfortunes to him. He had been uſeful to *Nazir Jung*, and continued to give life to the *Engliſh* intereſts, by urging *Nizam Ali* and *Bazalet Jung*, younger brothers of *Salabut Jung*, to uſurp the government during the abſence of *Buſſy*, in 1756, when he was arranging the internal government of the *Circars*. If the *French* detachment had not been at hand when the ſeals of ſtate were violently

* When *Buſſy* inveſted *Salabut Jung* with the dignity of *Soubah*, on the death of *Muzafa Jung*, he wrote to *Dupleix* in 1752, " Je vous dirai en confiance qu'il eſt bein facheux pour nous, d'avoir à ſoutenir un jeun homme auſſi foible & auſſi peureux que *Salabut Jun* Mem. de la Compagnie, page 62.

taken from *Salabut Jung*, in all probability his life alſo would have been taken; the government became abſolutely in the hands of the uſurpers, but it was executed in the name of *Salabut Jung*.

The ability of *Buſſy* again ſaved the *Nizam*; he went to *Aurungabad** and in the face of *Nizam Ali* with the army from *Berar*, of *Bazalet Jung*, with the army from *Adoni*, and of *Balaje Row* in perſon, with an army of *Mahrattahs*, dte rmined to take advantage of the confuſion, he reſtored *Salabut Jung*; got poſſeſſion of *Dolta ad*, the fortreſs of *Shavaneſe*, which the *Mahrattah* was deſirous to accept from either party as the price of his aſſiſtance, and effectually reſtored the old adminiſtration. † *Nizam Ali* procured the aſſaſſination of *Hyder Beg*, ‡ and fled to *Brampour* in May. The friends of *Hyder Beg* murdered *Shavaneſe Khan*, and his ſon *Mahomed*, *Duan* to the Emperor, and their adherents. *Sala-*

* *Orme*, Vol. II. page 341.
† Ibid. page 344.
‡ Ibid. page 348.

but Jung was ſcarcely re-eſtabliſhed, when M. *Conflans* brought a letter from *Lally* to Mr. *Buſſy*, dated the 10th May, announcing his recall.* With his uſual ability he conciliated *Bazalet Jung*, by promiſing him the government of *Hyderabad*; and obeyed the peremptory order of *Lally*, dated the 13th June, to repair to *Pondicherry* with all his forces, and to take Mr. *Moracin* in his way, who had the ſame orders, at *Maſſulipatam*; he delivered over his command to M. *Conflans*, and both he and *Salabut Jung* forboded the fatal conſequences.†

Lally had arrived from *France* with a reinforcement of regulars, and of money, which he deemed ſufficient to eſtabliſh the *French* Empire in *India*; with a ſuite of young nobility, he acquired a momentary *eclat* which ſuperſeded cautious policy; after taking Fort *St. Davids*, *Lally* ordered it to be razed to the ground. He wrote to *Buſſy* in the *Decan*, "when I ſhall be maſ-" ter of *Madras*, I ſhall go to the *Ganges*

* *Orme*, Vol. II. page 351

† Ibid. page 352.

"by land or ſea; my policy, in one word, "is, no *Engliſhman* in the peninſula of *India*." After the capture of Fort *St. Da-vids*, the attack of *Madras*, and the conqueſt of the *Nabob*'s country to the north, *Chittapitt* and *Vandiwaſh*, weak by the retreat of the *Engliſh* garriſons, did not eſcape the Governor *de Leyrit*. But the advice of *Lavaur*, a miſſionary, and deſire of acquiring a rapid ſupply of treaſure, determined *Lally* to proceed againſt *Tanjore*, under pretence of reſtoring *Gatica*, uncle to the depoſed King of *Tanjore*, whom the *Engliſh*, in conſideration of the ceſſion of *Devi Kotah*, had engaged to prevent from aſſerting his pretenſions againſt the uſurper. *Gatica* had been taken by *Lally* in Fort *St. Davids*.* The progreſs towards *Tanjore* and the unſucceſsful negociation for contribution, and diſgraceful retreat of the *French* army, after being foiled by the natives, and 40 *Europeans* detached by the *Engliſh* from *Trichinopoly*,† are ſufficiently known. *Lally*

* *Orme*, Vol. II page 318.

† *Orme*, Vol. II. p. ix. Eſſais hiſtoriques ſur l'*Inde*, M. de la *Flotte*, p. 41.

had begun a new plan of operation by the attack of *Trinomallee*, when *Bussy* joined his army in September, 1758. The rank he held was only Lieutenant Colonel; *Lally* had brought from *France* one Brigadier General and six Colonels; the names of those officers are recorded * for the public zeal which they shewed in signing a request that *Bussy* might supersede them, and be appointed Brigadier General, to which *Lally* could not object, though he imputed the compliment to the influence of *Bussy*'s money, instead of his reputation. When all the forces of the *French* had joined in November, they consisted of 4000 *Europeans*, and 3000 *Sepoys*. A small supply of money brought by *Moracin* and some treasure from *Mauritius* enabled *Lally* to proceed at last to the siege of *Madras*, and both parties were equally solicitous concerning the event of the expedition from *Bengal* into the *Northern Circars*, defended by *Conflans*.

Vizeram Rause had been selected by *Bussy* as the most useful and acceptable man to

* *Orme*, vol. II. page 370.

act in the capacity of chief in the *Northern Circars*; he had been *Zemindar* of *Rajahmundrum* and *Cicacole*, and was succeeded in those districts by *Anunderause Gauze Petty*, who was dissatisfied with the judicious arrangements of *Bussy*; and when he saw him involved at *Aurungabad* by the animosity of *Nizam Ali*, and recalled by *Lally*, he first sent offers to *Madras* to assist in taking the four provinces from the *French*; * but that government could not spare any part of its force. He made the offer to the *Bengal* government, in July 1758, and all except *Clive* considered the offer to be chimerical. † He knew how to estimate the difference of being opposed to the experience of *Bussy* and *Moracin*, or to the inexperience of *Conflans*; he detached Colonel *Ford*, who defeated *Conflans*, before the batteries of *Lally* had opened on the Fort of *St. George* at *Madras*; and *Bussy* had not joined *Lally* in the *Carnatic* before *Nizam Ali* was again in arms against *Salabut Jung*, who depended only on the fortress and army

* *Orme*, vol. II. page 355.

† Ibid.

at *Daltabad*; but *Bazalut Jung* marched with his army from *Adoni:* they both concurred in thinking the opportunity favourable to reannex the provinces to the *Soubahship.* They marched towards *Massulipatam*, to take advantage of events in the contest between the *French* and *English*. Colonel *Ford* having driven *Conflans* into *Massulipatam*, received the news from *Madras*, the 6th of March, 1759, that *Lally* had lost a third of his army by the fire of the *English*, by desertion and sickness, and had raised the siege on the appearance of a reinforcement from *Bombay**. Colonel *Ford*, with much gallantry and prudence, quelled a mutiny of his troops, and, notwithstanding the desertion of *Anunderause* and other renters who had joined the *English*, and obeyed the order of *Salabut Jung* to retire to their districts, he sent deputies to amuse *Salabut Jung*, and to warn the renters of the dangers to which they exposed themselves; and carried the fort by assault, and took possession of the town. *Salabut Jung* perceived, too

* Mem. Hist. sur l'*Inde*, p. 47.

late, the confequence of his delay: he confulted with the *French* how to leffen the misfortune, while *Rajah Anunderaufe* regained the *Goadaveri* by hafty marches, and in two days was out of the reach of purfuit *. Two months after, *Lally* retired from *Madras*; he detached Mr. *Moracin* with 500 *Europeans*, by fea, to *Maffulipatam*; but he arrived too late. *Salabut Jung* received Colonel *Ford* with attention, being alarmed by the application which *Clive* had made to *Nizam Ali* to favour the fucceffes of the *Englifh* againft the *French* in the *Circars* †. No treaty was formed; but Colonel *Ford* having forwarded the difpatches, *Nizam Ali* advanced with his army toward *Hyderabad*, giving out that he intended to reform the adminiftration; *Salabut* was in doubt whether the *French* or *Englifh* would be moft likely to affift him; and *Bazalut Jung* counteracted the negociations with Colonel *Ford*, being inclined to the *French*. It is certain that the *Nizam*, *Salabut Jung*, left the *Englifh*, in difguft,

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 490.

† Ibid. p. 191.

in May 1759, in possession of *Massulipatam*; and the *French* evacuated the *Circars*, on assurance, from *Bazalut Jung*, of being taken into his service. The Presidency of *Madras* appointed Mr. *Andrews*, with a council, to manage the revenue and trade; and Colonel *Ford* remained for instructions, from the Presidency of *Bengal* *. The conquest was made under *Clive*'s orders, the cession of the country having been previously obtained from the *Mogul*, in perpetuity to the *English*.

Lally had left *Bussy*, ill and disgusted, at *Pondicherry*; the increasing difficulties of the *French* called him forth to repair the consequence of his recall from the *Decan*. *Salabut Jung*, considering the *French* interest desperate, opened a negociation with *Nizam Ali*, and submitted to the same dependance from which *Bussy* had relieved him †. His brother, *Bazalut Jung*, *Duan* to *Salabut*, at the head of an army, would not assent to the arrangement, and joined

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 493.

† Ibid. p. 504.

the *French* under *Conflans*, and marched to levy contributions, and to deter the northern *Polygars* from giving any affiftance to the *English*. *Lally* had divided his army after the raifing the fiege of *Madras*; one part was fent to *Cheringham*, and the remainder was encamped at *Vandewash*: he fent *Buffy* to preferve the co-operation of *Bazalut Jung* *; but fuch was the want of money in the *Carnatic*, that the *French* army mutinied, three weeks after the firft battle of *Vandewash*, in which the *French* had maintained their ground. The detachment fent to efcort *Buffy* alfo mutinied; he therefore fent back all except his white and black cavalry and two hundred volunteers, whom he paid, during their expedition, out of his private fortune: he proceeded to *Bazalut Jung* †, and returned in time to raife the fiege of *Arcot*, which the *English* had formed, after their fuccefs in October at *Vandewash*. The decifive victory of the *English*, in January 1760, had been well contefted: *Buffy*, after hav-

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 533.

† Ibid. p. 547. His agreement with *Bazalut Jung*.

ing rallied his corps three times, was taken prisoner *, and, in consideration of his generosity to the *English* factory when he took *Vizagapatam*, the gallant *Coote* permitted him to repair to *Pondicherry* from the field of battle. *Bussy* did not, even then, consider the affairs of *France* as irretriveable; nevertheless, the best ability would have been perplexed what measure to pursue after the defeat. *Lally* perceived the ruinous separation of his army, and the difficulty of uniting them; he recalled the southern detachment; the necessity of treasure to pay the army was present, and all prudential considerations gave way. He applied to the *European* renters of the *French* Company's districts: the loss of *Vandewash* and *Chittapitt* prevented their making advances; and the expedients of Governor *Leyrit* and the Council were not sufficiently prompt in *Lally*'s opinion. He, therefore, took the whole of the Company's territory from the *European* renter, and accepted an advanced rent from *Rama Linga*, a *Malabar*, to whom he had farmed the

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 596

diſtrict round Arcot while he poſſeſſed them; he farmed the whole at 1,750,000 rupees *per annum*: at the time of the agreement there was ſufficient grain on the ground for the moſt ample ſupply of *Pondicherry*; but money was more ſcarce than victuals *; and the new farmer was permitted to ſell his grain, that he might pay his rent in coin into the treaſury, inſtead of delivering grain, as his acquittal, into the magazines †. When the *Engliſh* army advanced between *Gingee* and *Pondicherry*, he could not but ſee his error then, irretrievable.

In this ſtage of diſtreſs, *Hyder Ally* opened his career as a Sovereign; advanced from a ſoldier to the command of the *Myſorean* army, he had taken the *Myſorean* King out of the hands of *Delaway*, his uncle, who had agreed to retire to the fort of *Myſore* with a *Jagheer*. *Hyder* thus uncontrolled, uſurped the adminiſtration from the King, a young, a weak, and timid

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 602

† Ibid. p. 636.

prince; and to guard againſt a reverſe, *Hyder* conveyed his treaſure to *Thiagur*, a ſtrong fortreſs in the *Carnatic*; and by means of *Morognba*, a *Portugueſe* miſſionary, *Biſhop* of *Halicarnaſſus*, he at this period negociated with the *French*, in conſideration of that and another fort, and 100,000 rupees a month, to ſend 2000 cavalry and 3000 ſepoys with artillery into the *Carnatic*; this diverſion increaſed the calamity of the country, without recovering the fortune of *Lally*. The *Chriſtian Biſhop* with the *Mahrattahs*, though they did not fight, plundered all the villages dependant on the *French*, when *Lally* retreated to *Pondicherry* *; in January 1761, that beautiful ſettlement was ſurrendered to the *Britiſh* arms. *Pigot* and *Dupré* paſſed the night, previous to the ſurrender, in the trenches with *Coote* and his principal officers. The 16th of January, the *French* line, conſiſting of 1100 men, depoſited their arms, all wearing the face of famine, fatigue, and diſeaſe; and there was only proviſion for two days ſhort allowance left.

* Fragmens ſur l'*Inde*.

The black inhabitants had been turned out of *Pondicherry*, in November, to the amount of 1400, whom the humanity of *Coote* permitted, to pass, emaciated by famine. " The victor soldier gave his sigh (which none but banditti could refuse), to this solemn contemplation of the fate of war, which might have been his own *."

The Company's Governor, *Pigot*, insisted on *Pondicherry* being given up to the Company by virtue of the patent of January 1758, which regulates the Company's shared title to captures, and declared if it was not given up the Company would not advance any more money. Neither the Admiral nor Commander of the King's troops were authorised to draw bills on the Government of *England* on such an exigency; the council of war, therefore, submitted to the requisition, but protested against the insult it conveyed against the King's prerogative, and declared the Presidency responsible for the consequences †.

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 723.

† Ibid. p. 724.

The 5th of April, 1761, terminated the long-contested hostilities between the two rival *European* powers in *Coromandel*, and left not a single ensign of the *French* nation, avowed by the authority of its government, in any part of *India*, for the troops which had gone away to *Mysore* were hereafter to be regarded as a band of military adventurers seeking fortune and subsistence. Mr. *Pigot*, to obstruct the re-establishment of the *French* power by a general peace, ordered the total demolition of the town and fortifications of *Pondicherry*, for which *Lally*, by razing fort *St. Davids*, had given a precedent.

Circumstances were not wanting to aggravate the prejudices against the unfortunate *Lally*; his contempt of the Company's servants, and his ignorance of the usages of *India*, led him into many difficulties; the acknowledged talents of *Bussy* excited his envy; the intrigues of interested missionaries surrounded him. *Lavaur*, a Jesuit, who urged his attack on *Tanjore*, and had been one of the deputies sent to capitulate, had composed two memoirs, one

to juſtify, and another to defame *Lally*'s conduct; they were found among his papers by the officers of juſtice after his return to *France*. He had ſolicited a penſion of £.20 a year, pretending he had been ruined at *Pondicherry*, and when he died, property to the value of £.60,000 ſterling was found in his room*. The bankruptcy of three million of *livres* which *Valitte*, ſuperior of the *Weſt-Indian* miſſion, had brought on, at this time † opened the eyes of a few, and ſtrengthened the prejudices of many. Of the many charges againſt *Lally*, " no one particular crime, but the general tenor of his conduct, decided the judgement." The judge who explained the arrêt ‡, after it was executed, had opportunity to know that the fortune of *Lally* did not pay the amount allotted by it to the poor of *Pondicherry*; the King's bounty was known to have relieved the diſtreſſes of his family; the teſtimony of the *Engliſh* acquit him of every charge

* Fragmens ſur l'*Inde* & *Lalli*, p. 137.

† *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 735.

‡ Fragmens ſur l'*Inde*, p. 153.

affecting his true allegiance to his King or his perſonal courage.

The *Engliſh* had always kept clear of the intrigues of miſſionaries; when *Chandernagore* was taken from the *French* by *Clive*, in 1757, much intereſt was made to leave the *Jeſuits* there; he anſwered, "the *Jeſuits* may go where they pleaſe except to the *Engliſh* ſettlements *."—The critical ſituation of *Europeans* in *India* at this period, require a few words on the tranſactions in *Bengal.*

Some months after the arrival of Governor *Leyrit*, in 1755, the intereſts of *France* appeared to revive by the ability of *Buſſy*. The death of *Ali Verdi Khan*, in April, 1756, put *Serajah Dowlah* in poſſeſſion of the *Soubahdarry* of *Bengal*, agreeable to the will of his grandfather, who had obliged his officers to do him homage as *Soubah* independant of the *Mogul.* The new *Nabob* had taken *Calcutta* in June, 1756, and the Governor and all the fac-

* Fragmens ſur l'*Inde*, p. 89.

tory who escaped the Black Hole were on board the ships in the river*. In October, 1756, Colonel *Clive* was sent with about 2,000 land forces on board Admiral *Watson*'s fleet to *Calcutta*; he was invested by the Presidency of *Madras* with independant power in all military matters and operations, and authorised to draw bills. The Court of Directors had appointed Mr. *Drake*, with three Members of the Council, to act as a Select Committee in the conduct of all political and military affairs †; the Committee had associated Major *Kirkpatrick*, and they added Mr. *Watson* and Colonel *Clive* to their Board. The successes of *Clive* terminated the reign of *Serajah Dowlah* by the battle of *Plassey*, 26th of June, 1757 ‡, the correspondance of *Bussy* and *Law* with *Serajah Dowlah* fell into his hands, and the conduct, of a counteraction of the progress of the *French* in the *Decan* and in the

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 88.

† Ibid. p. 121.

‡ Reports, Vol. I. p. 16. Lord *Clive*'s account to the Committee of the House of Commons.

Circars, devolved exclufively on him, the Prefidency of *Madras* being unable to detach any force to that quarter. The Company's arrangements, in confequence of the lofs of *Calcutta*, were received there in June 1758: the firft arrangement of the Directors after receiving the bad news, had been, the appointment of a temporary Committee of five perfons to manage their affairs in *Bengal*, in which *Clive* was to prefide; but in *November* they determined to difmifs Mr. *Drake* from the government, and nominated a Council of ten, in which the four fenior Members were to prefide alternately, each for three months; in this fucceffion of the four, Mr. *Watts* ftood the firft; the others were Mr. *Manningham*, Mr. *Beecher*, and Mr. *Holwell*, who were not yet returned from *England*, and Colonel *Clive* was not included in the new arrangement. The three leading Members in the Council were impreffed with the difficulty of the public affairs, and propofed to the reft that *Clive* fhould be requefted to accept of the Government under the ufual modes; the vote was una-

nimous, and the tender was made and accepted on the 26th of June *.

Thus we see the intereſt of the Company, and of *Great Britain*, was veſted, contrary to the arrangement of the Company, in the hands of *Clive*; and it is remarkable, that the ſame honourable and patriotic ſpirit had raiſed *Buſſy*, near the ſame time, to a rank which the councils of *France* had not allotted to him. Thoſe who review the proceedings in *Bengal* at the period of the revolution, ſhould remember the circumſtances of the Company at the period of the fall of fort *St. David*; and thoſe who conſider the character of *Buſſy*, ſhould remember that the honourable teſtimony of the field officers who came with *Lally* from *France* could give him no more than the ſtation of third in command, and that their teſtimony rather ſtrengthened than weakened the jealouſy of *Lally*.

The peace in 1763 did not prove that

* *Orme*, Vol. II. p. 355.

the negociators had acquired a perfect knowledge of *India*; but it was fortunate that the subject was not left to the protracted negociations of the two companies*. Lord *Clive* expressed himself in these words to the Proprietors †:

" I flatter myself every proprietor must reflect with infinite pleasure on the benefit of these great and glorious successes, now secured to them by the eleventh article of the definitive treaty.

" Although there are some geographical errors, such as making the *Soubah* of *Bengal*'s dominion extend near 200 miles more than they do, to *Yanam*, and making that place the *northern* instead of the most southern part of the coast of *Orixa*; the acknowledging *Salabut Jung lawful Soubah* of the *Decan*, and *Mahomed Ali Cawn lawful Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, had been better omitted, for several reasons, and

* Mr. *Russell* states that the affairs of *India* had escaped notice till some time after the preliminaries were signed. Short History, p. 66.

† *Clive*'s Letter to the Proprietors, 1794, p. 10.

may be productive of disputes hereafter between the two companies; yet, upon the whole, the article is very advantageous to the Company.

"As my opposition originally arose from the defects of the preliminary articles, in which the interest of the *East-India* Company appeared to me to be much exposed, it affords me a very particular pleasure to think I have been any ways instrumental to the amendment of that article relative to the Company."

Mr. *Russell* has not taken notice of this article of the treaty of *Paris*; he begins his account of the acquisition of the *Circars* *, "The *new Soubah, Nizam Ally*, derived his right to the government from the grant of the *Mogul*," and we might suppose he had continued from that time the legal *Soubah*. I have included in the above abstract the real pretensions of the many natives whom different interests or parties denominate differently; I have also traced

* Short History, 2d edit. p. 65.

the brilliant ſpeculations of *France* to their cloſe. It was proved that the different *French* adminiſtrations, from 1727 to 1769, had furniſhed to the Company *three hundred and ſeventy-ſix millions of livres*, without its having ever paid the intereſt of its capital from the profits of its commerce, which however was made up by *nine millions of livres* annually allowed to the Company out of the *Ferme des Tabacs* *.

I have entered more at length into the projects of Governor *Dupleix* and Monſ. *Buſſy* to recall the memory of the circumſtances of *India* during the real period of conteſt. The deep perſevering policy of the *French* cabinet maintained the conteſt after the victory had been decided in the favour of *Great Britain*: the ability of *Hyder Ally* favoured their projects, and no expence was ſpared to rebuild and fortify *Pondicherry*; but being unwilling to leave all their magazines and force cooped up in one fortreſs in the peninſula of *India*, in which the *Engliſh* could take the field with

* Fragmens ſur l'*Inde*.

with infinite advantages, the isles of *France* and *Bourbon* became depots of armies and stores, from whence they might send their succour either to the coast of *Malabar* or of *Coromandel*, as the circumstances might require. A corps of *French* served constantly with *Hyder*; *French* engineers enabled him to render his fortresses more respectable. *Hyder* was allowed to be a good judge of the ground for action; his disposition for making or for receiving attacks were admired; his infantry were regimented, but never could resist the *English* sepoys; his artillery was numerous; the pieces he brought into the field were of very great calibres, and chiefly worked by *Europeans*; he unlimbered his guns behind ravines, or on ground which would permit him to draw them off at pleasure; he could throw his heavy shot over the *English* army before the *English* light train were within distance to open upon his line; when it advanced, *Hyder* limbered up, and his cannon were drawn off by elephants and excellent oxen; large bodies of cavalry covered their retreat, in such number, that it retarded our line until the

pursuit of the guns was ineffectual. He taxed every thing, even plunder; by the management of his *Bazars*, the money he paid to his troops reverted to his treasury, and when money has been scarce, he has been known to make his troops receive men and women prisoners taken in the *Carnatic* at his own valuation, who were sent into *Mysore* to cultivate the lands; he would not establish a cartel; and when large corps of cavalry have charged our line they have been generally intoxicated; whenever they have succeeded, the fate of the defeated has been horrid. The instruction and aid which *Hyder* acquired from the *French* since 1763 was politically employed by him to his own aggrandisement; his various usurpations and conquests united the *Bedenore* and *Zamorines* countries to *Mysore*; and there is no doubt but *Hyder* expected to extirpate the *English* by the aid of the *French*. In 1782 the agents of *France* had promised a powerful squadron and 10,000 *Europeans*. He employed the *Europeans* in his armies with much ability, keeping them in complete dependance; and the object of *France* was

attained by making him more formidable to the *English*. His diſſatisfaction at being ſo feebly ſupported when he invaded the *Carnatic*, notwithſtanding the efforts of the *French* at that period were extraordinary, and at a vaſt expence, made him anxious to complete the conqueſt of the *Malabar* coaſt; and previous to his laſt attack on the *Travancore* country, he had ſent embaſſies to the *Porte* and to *France*, to give greater luſtre to his projected empire.

It will not admit of diſpute, that the *Britiſh* force, by ſea and land, at the cloſe of the war in 1783, was ſuperior to the *French*; and that by miſmanagement alone the barbarity and indignity offered by *Tippoo* to the *Engliſh* paſſed unrevenged at that period: the preliminaries of peace came opportunely for all parties, from the critical ſituation in which they had nearly averaged themſelves. Meſſrs. *Sadlier* and *Staunton* brought accounts to *Cuddalore* of the concluſion of peace between *England* and *France*, and orders for a ceſſation of hoſtilities. The Marquis de *Buſſy*, who commanded both the land and ſea forces

of *France*, without hesitation accepted the notification as authentic; he saw the object for which he had left *France*, more favourably arranged by the cabinets in *Europe* for the benefit of his countrymen, than he could have any reasonable hope to have accomplished by the continuance of hostilities; he was aware of the distraction of our councils in *India*, and he knew his experience in negociating with the native powers might be important in settling the construction of the sixteenth article of the preliminaries, which regarded the *Indian* powers. With much decision he sent word to the *English* General, that the *Mysoreans* were in alliance with his Most Christian Majesty; that the detachment at *Cuddalore* was part of his army, and must be included in the cessation of hostilities; that in pursuance to the desire of the Deputies, he had forwarded their letters to the *English* commanders of detachments, and to *Tippoo*; but in case he declined to accept the pacification, *Bussy* assured them he would desist from assisting him, even before the four months expired. *Tippoo* received the news with great displeasure,

but ſent his *Vakeels* to *Cuddalore* to negociate with us through M. de *Buſſy*; Sir *Edward Hughes* and General *Stuart* proteſted againſt treating any farther through the medium of the *French* commander in chief, without the order of the Supreme Board; thus was Monſ. de *Buſſy* left to manage the *French* intereſts diſtinctly, and the hoſtilities of the detached forces againſt *Tippoo* were ſuſpended until it was known whether he would accede to the peace.

Enriched, and grown inſolent by the event of the war, *Tippoo* eſtabliſhed order in his extenſive dominions; his revenue regulations will juſtify the reputation of his ability and good ſyſtem; his perſecution of the *Nairs* in the year 1784, for having aſſiſted the *Engliſh*, was preparatory to his favourite object; a diſpute with the *Mahrattahs* in 1785 delayed its execution, and in 1786 he concluded one of his moſt brilliant campaigns againſt the united force of the *Nizam* and the *Mahrattahs*, by a peace favourable to his intereſt, and he became ſecure in his northern frontier. *Tippoo*, encouraged by the paſſive

policy in the commencement of the Marquis *Cornwallis*'s government, and by the unjuſtified conduct of the Governor of *Madras*, became emboldened to make an open attack on the *Rajah* of *Travancore*, the faithful ally of the *Engliſh*. Every inſult having proved ineffectual to make them the aggreſſors, *Tippoo* entered the eaſtern extremity of the lines with 16,000 of his beſt troops; he obtained poſſeſſion of about three miles, when he ſuffered that memorable repulſe which coſt him the flower of his army on the 29th of December. Three battalions, all *Nairs*, and 500 archers, in all 3,000 men, ſtimulated by the cauſe of their country and of their religion, were crowned with victory.

The politic and honourable ſupport which Lord *Cornwallis* inſtantly gave to the *Rajah* of *Travancore*, in fact, ſaved the *Hindoos*; thoſe who had conſidered and knew the circumſtances of the peninſula of *India*, heard the comments of ſome great ſtateſmen in *England* with concern. The power of *Great Britain* has been ſhewn under Lord *Cornwallis*, and the confidence of the

Hindoos may be confirmed, and the defence of the *Carnatic* become more certain and lefs expenfive, if proper fteps are taken to connect the *Hindoos* of the peninfula in a general defenfive alliance.

CHAP. XVIII.

On the military Eftablifhments and Service in India.

WHEN Lord *Clive* returned to *India*, in 1765, the fate of *Britifh India* again refted on his decifion; he wrote, in April, from *Madras*, to one of the Directors *, " We have at laft arrived at that critical period, which I have long forefeen; I mean that period which renders it neceffary for us to determine whether we can, or fhall, take the whole to ourfelves. *Sujah Dowla* is beat from his dominion; we are in pof-

* Appendix to the *Eaft-India* Report, Vol. I. No. 82.

ſeſſion of it, and it is ſcarcely hyperbole to ſay, to-morrow the whole *Mogul* Empire will be in our power: a large army of *Europeans* will effectually preſerve us ſovereigns. You will, I am ſure, imagine, with me, that after the length we have run, the Princes of *Hindoſtan* muſt conclude our views to be boundleſs; they have ſeen ſuch inſtances of our ambition, that they cannot ſuppoſe us capable of moderation; the very *Nabobs* whom we might ſupport would be either covetous of our poſſeſſions, or jealous of our power. Ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to deſtroy us; a victory would be but a temporary relief to us; for the dethroning of the firſt *Nabob* would be followed by ſetting up another. We muſt, indeed, become *Nabobs* ourſelves, in fact, if not in name; perhaps ſo totally without diſguiſe: but on this ſubject I cannot be certain until my arrival in *Bengal.* Let us, without delay, complete our *three European* regiments, to 1000 each; theſe, with 500 light cavalry, *three* or *four* regiments of artillery, and the forces of the country, will certainly render us invincible: in ſhort, if riches and

ſecurity are the objects of the company, this is the method, the only method now, for ſecuring them."

When Lord *Clive* aſſumed the government, on his arrival in *Bengal*, in May 1765, he addreſſed the committee *; " the ſucceſs of the forces, which I had the honor to command in the year 1757, completed a revolution in favor of *Meer Jaffier*, an event on which the exiſtence of the *Eaſt-India* Company at that time depended; the treaty concluded with him was productive of large advantages to the *nation*, as well as to *individuals*, and ſeemed to inſure the Company greater benefits than they had ever before enjoyed.

" My ſucceſſors ſoon after my departure thought proper to raiſe *Coſſim Ali Khan* to the *Soubahſhip*, the conſequences of which, whatever was the cauſe, had been unfortunate.

" A very few days are elapſed ſince our arrival; and yet, if we conſider what has

* Report, Vol. 1. Append. N. 84.

already come to our knowledge, we cannot hesitate a moment on the necessity of assuming the power that is in us, of conducting, as a select committee, the affairs, both civil and military, of this settlement. What do we hear of, what do we see, but anarchy, confusion, and, what is worse, an almost general corruption?"

In the preceding review of the different periods of *British* Government, I endeavoured to ascertain the principles of the civil administration. It will be necessary to advert cursorily to the advantages which Lord *Clive* refers to, exclusive of the revenues, consisting of treasure exacted on different accounts, of which the principal head was distinguished as *restitution*, or money paid to the Company for damages, by the capture of *Calcutta*, and for expences incurred by the war *:

By *Meer Jaffier*, in 1757	1,200,000
By *Meer Cossim*, in 1760	62,500

* General state attested by auditor of *India* accounts. Report of Committee of Secrecy. Append. N. 10.

By *Meer Jaffier*, on his reftoration, in 1763	375,000
By *Sujah Dowlah*, on making peace, in 1765	583,333
	£. 2,220,833

In the fame period, individuals received from the princes and natives of *Bengal:*

On depofing *Serajah Dowlah*, and advancing *Meer Jaffier* to the Government, in 1757.	1,238,575
On depofing *Meer Jaffier*, in favour of *Coffim*, in 1760	200,269
On reftoring *Meer Jaffier*, in 1763	437,499
Prefent received by two commanders of the army	62,666
On the acceffion of *Najim Ul Dowlah*, *Meer Jaffier*'s fon, in 1765	139,357
Received of the King, Queen, Mother, and one of the Princes, in 1765, and 1766	90,999
Received of *Meer Jaffier*, in 1757	600,000

Received of *Meer Jaffier* again, in 1763	600,000
	£. 3,369,365

Exclusive of Lord *Clive*'s *Jageer* *.

It might be supposed that this supply of ready money had answered the extraordinary charges of a change of system, and that the revenues would have defrayed the current charges of the new establishments. If we did not recollect, that the provinces of *Bengal* were not the only charges on the Company. When *Clive* left *Madras*, to complete the revolution, in 1757, the Company found themselves so reduced and exhausted by the continued drains from the commencement of the troubles on the *coast*, in 1746, that they had been obliged to desist from sending the *usual* supplies of money to their settlements abroad, excepting only some inadequate consignments of silver to *China* †. *Madras* and *Bengal* were

* Account annexed to the Report of the Committee. Short History of the revolution in *Bengal*, page 133.

† *Vansittart*'s Letter to the Proprietors, p. 8. 1767.

enjoined to give all poffible affiftance to that important trade, at the fame time to provide for their own military and civil charges, and the purchafe of inveftment or cargoes for their fhips, and likewife to fupply the fettlement of *Bombay* with what money might be wanted there.

The *Englifh* certainly had a preferable claim to full participation of reftitution money; but the *natives* only received $\frac{7}{10}$ and a quarter of a fixteenth, or $\frac{28}{64}$ of the amount of their loffes: the *Armenians* received their bare principal; and the *Englifh* received their full principal, with 20 *per cent.* intereft, and an overplus of 50 lacks remained in the Company's treafury; the *Englifh* inhabitants, notwithftanding fuch receipt, fued the Company in chancery for the overplus *. It has been objected to *Clive*, that he neglected, or did not underftand, the intereft of the Company, in not obtaining a larger revenue, independant of the reftitution money †. The difficulty of

* *Vanfittart's* Letter to the Proprietors, 1767, p. 109.
† Ibid. p. 68.

obtaining an extenſion to the north of *Calcutta* was ſtated by Lord *Clive*; it was obtained from *Meer Jaffier*, by lending him 25 lacks; and when it is conſidered that *Meer Jaffier*, at the battle of *Plaſſey*, acted preciſely in the manner which beſt ſuited his intereſt; that *Clive* had alſo engagements with *Ramnarain*, *Nabob* of *Patna*, and alſo with *Omarbeg*, the *Fougedar* of *Houghly*, their ſeparate intereſts reſted on the perſonal authority of Lord *Clive*. His influence over *Meer Jaffier* was certainly great; but when *Clive* left the Government to gentlemen, who plainly declared their opinion, that the dependance on a *Nabob* would be more ruinous than if the Company became *Nabob*, the conſequences of univerſal miſtruſt were inevitable. *Clive* had ſeen the neceſſity of vigor to counteract the *Dutch*, whoſe letters to *Meer Jaffier* afterwards fell into our hands *; and it appears he had agreed "that the *Dutch* ſhould bring into the province a military force to join his, and curb a power which was repreſented as dangerous:" and the *Dutch* chief, without the

* Appendix to the *Engliſh* Memorial, No. 6.

least reserve, puts *Meer Jaffier* in mind of this agreement in one of the letters before mentioned*. The Court of Directors, in 1760, instructed Mr. *Vansittart* not to protect natives, merely to enable them to defraud their master; on the principle, that they are always bad subjects who apply for foreign protection; as soon as they are assured of it, they keep no longer within bounds of respect; and their own ruin and their master's becomes the immediate consequence. Orders to this effect were issued in September, 1761, by the Governor and Council †, "declaring it to be contrary to engagements between the *Nabob* and the Company to interfere in the support of any *Zemindar*, or other person holding office, grant, or authority, under the government;" and thereby those whose safety had been *guaranteed*, were abandoned to their fate.

When Mr. *Vansittart* arrived in *India*, the King's and Company's troops were ad-

* *Vansittart's* Letter to the Proprietors, 1767, p. 34.
† *Vansitt.* Narr. Vol. I. p. 92.

vancing towards *Pondicherry*. When he reached *Bengal* he found one ſingle lack of *rupees* in the treaſury *, and an arrear of 23 lacks, due by *Meer Jaffier*, which Governor *Holwell* deſpaired of realiſing immediately. The neceſſity of affairs obliged the ſelect committee to deliberate; and the change of *Meer Jaffier*'s miniſters, and a participation of his revenues were reſolved on, and the monthly payment of one lack having been precarious, the participation of the Company was to be commuted for the ſole right to certain diſtricts †; In ſhort, it was deemed indiſpenſable to do in *Bengal*, what *Buſſy* had found to be indiſpenſable, when he obtained the abſolute grant of the *Circars*. Mr. *Vanſittart* deſcribes the neceſſity to have ariſen from the change of our relation to *India*: " before the capture of *Calcutta*, 200 or 250 ſoldiers compoſed the whole force of *Bengal*: without ſeapoys, without artillery, camp equipage, without field allowances, without fortifications, and an innumerable train

* *Vanſittart*'s Letter to the Proprietors, p. 15.
† Ibid. page 16.

of incidental articles *." When *Clive* left *Bengal*, after the revolution, the number of men will be found to be increaſed forty fold and the other concurrent expences in a much greater proportion: a fortification fit to command an empire ſucceeded to the old fort, or factory, at *Calcutta*; and an alliance made with the *Nabob* of the provinces, by which the Company became his protectors, and the ſole defenders of his country, inſtead of being a factory of merchants trading under his permiſſion and good pleaſure †.

To bring this plan into effect, *Meer Coſſim* was promiſed the confirmation of the appointment of the *Neabut*, to which *Meer Jaffier*, his father-in-law, had deſtined him ‡, and the ſucceſſion to the government after *Meer Jaffier*'s death. He on his part engaged to procure us from the *Nabob* a grant of the diſtricts of *Burdwan*, *Mid-*

* *Vanſittart*'s Letter to the Proprietors, page 20.

† Ibid. p. 21. *Scrafton* Sketch, p. 125 and 126.

‡ *Vanſitt.* Narrative, Vol. I. p. 41 and 74.

napore, and *Chittagong*, computed to produce £. 600,000 *per annum* *. It was imagined this revenue would enable the Company to defray its expences, and the *Nabob* might be permitted to enjoy the remainder. The failure of these hopes have been more than once related; and at the restoration of *Meer Jaffier*, Mr. *Vansittart*, and Mr. *Hastings* were the only members of council who stood forth in protecting the natives, by proposing to establish a bare equality in the inland trade; and the majority prevailed in maintaining that the *Mogul*'s *Phirmaund* established the right to inland as well as to foreign trade, *custom free* †, contrary to the wise and politic restrictions of *Nabob Jaffier*, in 1717, when the original patents, addressed to him by the *Mogul*, as *Nabob* of the provinces, were defined, and carried into effect.

The force in 1756 was, according to the highest calculation, in *Bengal*, 250 soldiers. When *Clive* left *Bengal*, Mr. *Scrafton* states

* *Vansittart*'s Letter, page 24.
† Vide *Orme*, Vol. II. page 25.

the force in *Bengal* to have been 1200 *Europeans* and 7500 ſepoys; together, 8700*. Mr. *Vanſittart* reckons the whole, after the return of Colonel *Ford*'s detachment from the *Decan*, to be in the whole 8000†. In 1761 and 1762, Mr. *Vanſittart*, on the neceſſity of keeping a larger force at *Patna*, and to aſſiſt the preſidency of *Madras* with a body of ſepoys for the expedition to *Manilla*, the army was a little increaſed. In 1763 when the war with *Meer Coſſim* broke out, the army in *Bengal* conſiſted of 1320 *Europeans*, and 8900 ſepoys; together 10,220 ‡. In 1764, the year of the battle of *Buxar*, when *Sujah Dowlah* had invaded the province with all his force, in the name and with the preſence of the *Mogul*, the *Engliſh* forces had been conſiderably augmented; an army of 15,000 men compoſed the whole force of *Bengal*, for the protection of both ſides the *Ganges*, garriſons to the forts of *Mongheer* and *Patna*, for ſecuring the *paſſes*, and guarding

* *Scrafton*'s Pamphlet, page 47.

† *Vanſittart*'s Letter to the Proprietors, p. 95.

‡ Ibid. p. 96.

the frontiers of *Burdwan* and *Midnapore*, to which ſervices *Meer Jaffier* was unable to contribute. The army of Colonel *Munro*, at the battle which again eſtabliſhed the decided ſuperiority of the *Engliſh* in the provinces, conſiſted of 1,062 *European* infantry, cavalry, and artillery, 1,002 black cavalry, and 5,806 ſepoys, together 7,870, including officers.

The charges of the eſtabliſhment of the 8,000 men which Lord *Clive* left in 1760 was 830,000 rupees a month, or £.103,750, or £.1,245,000 per annum.

The charges of the army in 1764, conſiſting of 15,000 men, oppoſed to the expected receipts, were,

	Lacks.	Rupees.
Per month, - - - - - -	2	50000
Monthly ſum which *Meer Jaffier* agreed to pay while the war laſted - - -	5	00000
£.45,000 per month of the Company's capital - -	3	60000
And before we come to the capital, we muſt of courſe		

	Lacks.	Rupees.
reckon the revenue which the Company poſſeſſed in *Bengal* - - - - - - - or £.195,000.	4	50000
Total monthly expence,	15	60000

The annual charges of the army in 1764 - - - £.2,340,000

Mr. *Vanſittart* ſtates that, in 1767, the military eſtabliſhment conſiſted of above 20,000 men, and would come to a monthly expence of 20,80000 rupees, or £.260,000 per month, or £.3,120,000 per annum, which he ſuppoſes to be nearly equal to the whole produce of the revenue, without leaving any thing to make good what we have engaged to pay to the *Mogul* and to the *Nabob* *.

It cannot be doubted that Lord *Clive* weighed the whole of the circumſtances on his arrival in 1765; from whatever

* *Vanſittart's* Letter the Proprietors, 1767, p. 102.

caufes his former arrangement had failed, he landed at *Calcutta* with an impreffion of the neceffity of taking the whole revenues into the Company's hands; for previous to his departure after the revolution, he had obliged the *Nabob* to mortgage the revenues of the three diftricts as fecurity for payment of the reftitution and public money*. His arrangement of 1757 had ftrengthened the fortifications and eftablifhed an *Englifh* force adequate to the fubfidy; the whole force which he confidered neceffary in 1765 as a permanent eftablifhment was, 3,000 *European* infantry, 500 cavalry, and four regiments of artillery, exclufive of the native force *Meer Jaffier* had ftipulated to maintain when he was reftored, which was 12,000 cavalry and 12,000 infantry: but neither *Meer Coffim* nor *Meer Jaffier* could poffibly have maintained that force, when the interference of the Company's fervants, by their privileges, not only engroffed the trade, but the revenues.

During the year 1764, Mr. *Vanfittart*

* *Vanfittart's* Letter, p. 61.

eſtimated, from the Commiſſary General's accounts of camp expences, their monthly amount to be between four and five lacks of rupees; but on account of the Company's charges in providing military ſupplies in *Europe*, and by the military ſtore-keeper in *Bengal*, he found it neceſſary to ſtate the rough eſtimate of the whole to *Meer Jaffier* as amounting nearly to 7 lacks, and to urge the juſtice of his bearing a large proportion for the general defence of the provinces; and it was inſiſted that he ſhould pay the Company five *lacks* per month as long as the proſecution of the war with *Sujah Dowlah* required the augmentation of the military eſtabliſhments*. This ſum being added to the revenue of the diſtricts obtained from *Meer Coſſim*, enabled Mr. *Vanſittart* to give aid to the commercial concerns of the Company, but with the farther addition of a loan at eight *per cent.*, to remit ten lacks to *China*, in November, which the exigency of the army prevented being ſent in the early part of the ſeaſon: ſuch was the ſituation

* *Vanſittart's* Letter to the Proprietors, 1767, p. 106.

of the Company when Lord *Clive* landed in *Bengal* in 1765.

Mr. *Bruce* has ftated the amount of the army in *India* in 1782, and has remarked generally on the improvements introduced by Lord *Clive* when he modelled the fepoy corps, and blended it with the *European* army regularly officered by *Cadets* from *Europe* *.

The *Bengal* eftablifhment during that war confifted of a corps of engineers, three regiments of artillery, including officers — — —	3,531
Thirty-fix regiments of native infantry, and one light infantry, confifting of 481 *European* officers and 38,850 natives — —	39,331
Four regiments of cavalry, 72 *European*, and 2,136 natives —	2,208
	45,070

* Plans for *India*, p. 505.

Some battalions of irregulars and militia, and the Governor's body guard, raiſed the total amount on the *Bengal* war eſtabliſhment in 1782 to 938 officers, 4,446 non-commiſſioned officers and privates, *Europeans*; with 49,390 natives; in all, 54,774 men.

The *Madras* eſtabliſhment conſiſted of one battalion of *European* artillery with officers, excluſive of *Laſcars* — 866

European engineer officers — 14

Two regiments of *European* infantry, with officers — — 1201

One troop of cavalry, with three officers — — — 61

Twenty-nine battalions of native infantry, 11 officers, 87 non-commiſſioned officers, *Europeans*, with 908 natives each; one battalion of light infantry, native, with *European* officers — Total *Europeans* 540
Natives 27140

The irregular troops, militia, *Sibbendy* corps, increaſed the *Madras* eſtabliſhment to 596 officers, 3,494 non-commiſſioned and private *Europeans*, and 37,085 natives, which, with four regiments of the *Nabob*'s cavalry, taken into the Company's pay, and one battalion of native infantry, is the whole force ſtated by Mr. *Bruce* as conſtituting the *Madras* eſtabliſhment in 1782.

The *Bombay* eſtabliſhment in 1782 amounted to 243 officers, 2,040 non-commiſſioned and private *Europeans*, and 14,396 natives.

" The whole of the Company's military eſtabliſhment then, at the concluſion of this war, was 112,628 men; to which, if His Majeſty's troops then ſerving in *India* (ten regiments of *Britiſh* and two *Hanoverian*) ſhall be added, the whole of the *Britiſh* force ſerving in *India* may be calculated at 124,000 men," (of which above 23,000 were *Europeans*) on their full eſtabliſhment. The expences of ſupporting ſuch a force were calculated at £.2,732,196; but if an allowance ſhall be made for batta,

or double pay given to the troops in the field, with charges for the King's troops, the military expences in 1782–3, from the accounts laid before Parliament, will appear to have amounted to £.4,000,000 per annum*. Having adopted the official ſtatement of Mr. *Bruce*, of the eſtabliſhment, calculation, and actual amount of charges of the army in 1782–3, I am able alſo to ſtate the effective ſtrength in the laſt year of the war, having before me a return of December, 1782, which is as follows:

		Europ. Artil.	Europ. Infant.	Sepoys.
Company's Troops	*Bengal* — —	761	1,674	47,005
	Fort St. George —	548	1,079	42,134
	Bombay — —	386	862	13,094
		1,695	3,615	102,233

N. B. The non-commiſſioned officers are included in the *European*, and the native officers in the ſepoys' ſtrength: cavalry is not included, nor *European* or native invalids, penſioners, or laſcars. Caſualties muſt have diminiſhed the number at the

* Plans for *India*, p. 509.

period of the following abſtract return of His Majeſty's troops in *India* under the command of Major General *Stuart*, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1783.

3 Colonels, 6 Lieutenant-Colonels, 11 Majors, 59 Captains, 146 Lieutenants, 53 Enſigns, 2 Chaplains, 12 Adjutants, 14 Quarter Maſters, 47 Surgeons, 11 Mates, 5,555 rank and file. The King's troops at that time were much ſeparated, ſome in the *Carnatic* army, others at *Fort St. George*, at *St. Thomé* and *Poonomallee*, at the *Mount*, in the *Northern Circars*, on the *Malabar* coaſt, in *Bengal*, ſome taken in Colonel *Bailey*'s action, priſoners at *Bidenore*, others with the army ſouth of the *Coleroon*.

Mr. *Pitt*'s *India* bill having been adopted by Parliament, the Board of Control, and Directors reviſed the eſtabliſhments, and adopted the following plan of Major General Sir *Archibald Campbel*, which was tranſmitted to *Bengal* with the general plan of the new Government *.

* Letter of the Directors to the *Bengal* Government, September 21, 1785.

	European Cavalry.	Native Cavalry.	Cavalry.	European Artillery.	European Infantry.	Sepoys.		Lafcars.	Engineers.
	Reg.	Reg.	Tps.	Com.	Batt.	Batt.	Com.	Com.	No.
BENGAL.									
Fort William	—	—	—	5	1	8	—	10	12
Burhampoor	—	—	—	—	1	6	—	4	2
Dignapoor	—	—	—	1	—	6	—	4	2
Chunar Ghur	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	2	2
Weftern Frontier ..	—	—	2	4	2	12	—	10	4
MADRAS.									
Northern Divifion .	—	—	—	1	—	12	—	7	3
Southern Divifion ..	—	2	—	1	1	9	—	8	5
Eaftern Divifion ...	1	1	—	4	1	4	—	8	9
Weftern Divifion ..	—	3	—	2	2	11	—	7	5
BOMBAY.									
Bombay Garrifon ..	—	—	—	4	1	3	5	4	8
Salfette Cantonment	—	—	—	1	1	6	—	4	2
Surat Garrifon	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	½	1
Tillicherry	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	½	1
	1	6	2	23	10	83	8	69	56

The foregoing Distribution supposed the Indian Army in 1785 to consist of 70,919 Men.

Bengal	29,038 Men	at £. 698,013	1	6
Madras	31,720	616,852	14	4
Bombay	10,161	165,624	5	2
Including Officers	70,919 Men	£. 1,480,490	1	0*

From Mr. *Bruce* I state the general Return of the *Indian* Army in 1788-9.

BENGAL.	Officers.	Staff.	Non Com. & Priv.	Natives.
Artillery, 3 Battalions - - -	81	12	1110.	
European Infantry, 6 Batts. -	162	30	3696	
Engineers - - - - - - -	22			
Native Cavalry, 2 Regts. - -	8	2	2	468
Native Infantry, 36 Batts. -	336	72	288	23,040
	609	116	5096	23,508

* The pay calculated conformably to the lists of pay laid before Parliament in Feb. 1785, by the Directors.

	Europeans				
MADRAS.	Officers.	Staff.	Non. Com. & Priv.	Natives.	
Artillery, 2 Battalions - -	54	8	740		
European Infantry, 2 Batts.	108	20	2464		
Engineers - - - - - -	22				
Native Cavalry, 5 Regts.	35	15	30	2460	
Native Infantry, 30 Regts.	280	60	240	19,200	
	499	103	3474	21,660	
BOMBAY.					
Artillery, 2 Batts. - -	27	4	370		
Engineers - - - - - - -	12				
European Infantry, 2 Batts.	54	10	1232		
Native Infant. 12 Batts.	112	24	96	7680	
	205	38	1698	7680	Total
Total of Company's Troops	1313	257	10,268	52,848	64,686
Total of King's Troops	387	56	7602		8045
Total Europeans 19,883	1700	313	17,870	52,848	72,731

On the approach of the late war with *Tippoo Sultaun*, it became neceſſary to augment the King's and Company's troops: one troop was added to the King's regiment of cavalry, and two companies to each regiment of infantry; a detachment of 245 effective, from the royal artillery, was ſent out under a field officer: by theſe augmentations, the number of the King's troops ſerving in *India*, was about 10721. For the ſame reaſon, the Company augmented the ſepoy corps, from 8 to 10 companies in each regiment, which made an addition of about 12870 effectives: conſequently, the eſtabliſhment of *European* was then 22,549 *Europeans*, and 65,718 natives, excluſive of confederates in the war, the *Mahrattahs* and the *Nizam*.

The ſucceſſes againſt *Tippoo*, which terminated in a peace, enabled Lord *Cornwallis* to reduce the army; but in what degree it was then reduced, and to what extent it has been again augmented, will be explained by Mr. *Dundas* when he makes his next report to Parliament. So far from its being a matter of apology, it ſhould be

considered a subject for praise, that Mr. *Dundas* hesitates at the final decision "on the circumstances of embarrassment, which have experimentally proved the military arrangements in *India* to be deficient, and to require amendment*."

The sources of defect lately held forth are neither accurate nor conciliating; and although, neither individually nor collectively, the *Indian* army ought to presume to dictate to Parliament, nor to define the rights of the Legislature and of the Executive Government of *Great Britain*, yet the feelings of *Englishmen* may be stimulated to indiscretion, by the apprehension of intended injustice. The subject having been publicly discussed, I cannot but observe, that the following sentences have been unfortunately selected to give a distinct view of the relative situation of the King's and Company's troops in *India* †. "No one will deny that jealousies of a dangerous kind have subsisted between the King's

* Plans for *India*, p. 512

† Ibid, p. 514.

and Company's troops: the King's officers have complained, that the Company's regiments were better paid than they were, and that all the profitable ſtations had been aſſigned them."

A reference made to papers, laid before Parliament in 1791, upon the motion of Mr. *Hippeſley*, by aſcertaining that the King's troops had been paid in good coin, 2 months in advance, when the Company's troops have been from 10 to 12 months in arrears, and then paid in a depreciated currency, invalidates the above aſſertion, and is ſufficient to enſure the attention of Government and of Parliament to remove ſo injurious a diſtinction; and the proportion of 12 ſtations, now commanded by 12 field officers of ſix King's regiments, muſt occur, if the diſtinction of the King's and Company's army is not aboliſhed. Other obſervations on the defect of diſcipline, occaſioned by "officers commanding *European* regiments, being removed to command ſepoy battalions *"; and the regula-

* Plans for *India*, p. 504.

tions, in the ſame page, ſtated to exiſt, certainly cannot be ſupported; and notwithſtanding it is in another place aſſerted *, that a ſepoy regiment now attracts the wiſhes of a Company's officer, who originally looked anxiouſly to the command of an *European* battalion: it cannot be denied by the Board of Control, "that the command of an *European* battalion is now, as it always has been, the object of ambition; becauſe, to be entitled to command an *European* battalion, an officer muſt have the rank of Colonel, while that of a Captain is ſufficient to command a native corps. Every officer commanding an *European* corps, has a ſeparate command, and has the faireſt proſpect of acquiring a fortune; while the officer commanding a ſepoy regiment, has but a precarious chance of command, and a very diſtant proſpect of fortune." It cannot, however, be queſtioned, that Lord *Cornwallis* is a competent judge of the comparative ſtate of the troops. The ſingle corps of the Company's *Europeans* employ-

* Plans for *India*, p. 513.

ed in the laſt war, commanded by Major *Gowdie*, was diſtinguiſhed by Lord *Cornwallis* for its good conduct. His Lordſhip ſtates the artillery to be equal to any in *Europe* *, which, having been greatly augmented, accounts for the leſs ſightly ſtate of the battalions of the Company's *European* infantry, "ſcarcely fitted for any but garriſon duty †"; and Lord *Cornwallis*'s obſervation, "that the *European* regiments were inferior in diſcipline to the ſepoy corps ‡," involves both the King's and Company's regiments. The reaſon, adduced by an anonymous writer in the Morning Chronicle, is a probable, and likely to continue, a permanent reaſon. The natives are more obedient, their limbs more ſupple and pliant, and they do not enervate themſelves with ſpirituous liquors.

It would be unjuſt to impute, to the Company's officers, claims of preſcriptive

* Plans for *India*, p. 513.

† Ibid. p. 512.

‡ Ibid. p. 513.

rights; they are not a northern horde united by cuſtom, which, by long duration, has acquired the force of law. They were organized but the other day by *Clive*; they have been brought to their preſent perfection by ſucceſſive improvements, which the Company ordered to be introduced frequently by general officers, bearing his Majeſty's commiſſion: if the Company had really been independant of the ſtate, and if the King had not ſent detachments from the army of *Europe*, the regular army of *France* would have driven every *Engliſhman* from *India*: therefore, no *Engliſh* officer in the Company's ſervice, when we hear of preſcript right, can mean any other right than the preſcript rule of ſervice, which ought to protect him from evaſions and ſuperceſſions, injurious to his feelings as an officer, and to his fortune, and alſo injurious to the ſervice. Reforms ought to be made only when neceſſary; and then the prejudices of the reformed ought to be attended to, as far as the well-being of the ſtate can admit. Lord *Cornwallis* is the ſoldier's friend; and it requires the authority of ſuch a name to organize

the *Indian* army. I ſhall deſcribe ſhortly the ſtate of the King's and Company's ſervice at the period when the peace of 1783 with *France* was proclaimed at *Cuddalore*.

Lord *Macartney* conſidered the King's troops in *India* as auxiliaries, and himſelf as Governor, the reſponſible delegate of the Company's authority *, for the conduct of the war in the *Carnatic*; and ſo far were the King's officers from being peculiarly favoured beyond the poſitive orders from *Europe*, that he annulled the ſtaff appointments Sir *Eyre Coote* had given to the Kings troops. The letter from Lord *Macartney* and the Select Committee, dated 3 June, 1783, to Major-General *Stuart*, was not only the cauſe of mortification to the *Engliſh* General, but being intercepted by the *French*, it was tranſlated, and ſent to *Europe* as a curioſity: Monſ. *de Moiſſac*, Major *d'Eſcadre* to Monſ. *de Suffrein*, ſent it to a friend, with this remark "Je vous envoie la traduction d'une lettre du Comitté de *Madras* au Major Général *Stuart*; vous

* View of the *Engliſh* intereſts in *India*, page 32.

m'avez paru la desirer;" "vous y verrez avec autant d'etonnement que nous, sans doute, quel est le style que les agens de l'honorable Compagnie employent vis-à-vis les Généraux." In short the civil and military departments were then at daggers drawing.

To give an idea of the *Sepoys*, I shall instance the *Sortie* from *Cuddalore*, which closed the hostilities with the *French* in 1783.

On the 25th of June, before day light, part of the *French* garrison at *Cuddalore*, consisting of 900 *Europeans* and 600 *Sepoys*, attacked the *English* advanced corps. The field officer,* who had the charge of the parallel about 700 yards from the fort of *Cuddalore*, "stationed the 24th *Bengal* regiment of *Sepoys* to line the parapet; at half past two in the morning he ordered the men to fall in on the *banquette*; and about ten minutes after the men stood to their arms, the centinels of the 24th regiment

* The honourable Lieutenant Colonel *Cathcart*.

fired and ran in ; inſtantly a ſhower of muſquetry followed them ; the firing ſpread as far as the redan and the battalion on its left. The working parties, artificers, pioneers, &c. on the commencement of the fire, puſhing to the rear, broke through the reſerve: the morning was very dark; the noiſe and halloing of the workmen and the whizzing of the ſhot made the ſecond line miſtake them for the enemy ; they were ſeized with a momentary panic; while the *Sepoys* in the *banquette* defended themſelves nobly ; perceiving the confuſion which was in the rear, and being ſenior officer to Major *Cotgrave*, I went to aſſiſt in bringing back theſe troops ; the *European* detachment, of 70 men, diſperſed ; moſt of them ran to the camp. 150 *European* grenadiers ran near 100 yards before they attended to their officers' orders to halt ; they ſoon formed, and advanced to their old ground, where they were ordered to halt with charged bayonet, and not to fire becauſe the *Sepoys* were in front : they were ſoon perfectly ſteady ; the battalion of *Sepoys*, which formed the remainder of the

reserve, returned, and formed on the left of the grenadiers.

" The firing about this time became more faint, but much nearer: the *French* defeated the *Bengal Sepoys*, notwithstanding they had gallantly resisted them with their bayonets. Major *Cotgrave* and your humble servant * had walked towards the parallel to ascertain its situation, and direct the *Sepoys*, if retiring from its defence, to go off to the left, that the second line might open its fire ; but they were all gone, and we perceived by the flashes that we were opposed to *Frenchmen* who fired at us. I directed Major *Cotgrave* to advance with the *Sepoy* battalion of the reserve and succour the *Redan*. Just as the Major was giving these orders, he was killed ; but the officer who commanded the *Sepoy* corps, moved on, and fired one volley after gaining the parapet ; a *French* captain of the regiment *de l'Isle de France*, by a mistake, got among this *Sepoy* battalion whilst it was advancing, ran its commanding officer thro'

* Colonel *Cathcart*.

the ſhoulder, and was himſelf bayonetted in eight places: he had however the good fortune to recover.

"It was ſo dark that it was hardly poſſible to diſtinguiſh friend from foe. I did not advance with the grenadiers; but as ſoon as the *Sepoys* moved on from the left, I ordered them to wheel to the right, becauſe I every moment expected to ſee a body of the enemy advancing to turn our flank: they had not any intention of making the attack I looked for; but part of the troops which were on the *French* left, and conſequently attacked our right, loſt their way, and came up the rice field cloſe to the new-formed front of the grenadiers; ſtumbling at once upon a body of men drawn up with charged bayonets, they called for quarter; and 60 of them were diſarmed. About the time theſe people came up the rice field, the reſt of the enemy retired in confuſion, firing upon each other: thoſe who had attacked the battalion which was on the parallel to the left of the *Redan*, behaved ill; they were *Sepoys* lately raiſed;

in going off, they threw down moſt of their arms.

" Juſt as the firing ceaſed, Colonel *Gordon*, who had been at the head of the troops to the left, came to ſee what ſituation we were in, and informed us that the Chevalier *de Dumas*, Colonel du Regiment *d'Acquitaine*, who commanded the ſally, was taken; he had heard his left advancing paſt our line, and made his orderly drum beat a charge, in hopes to perſuade the reſt of his detachment to return; he came cloſe to the parallel; nobody followed him, and an officer of *Sepoys* ſeized him and his drummer.

" The enemy are ſuppoſed to have loſt between 150 and 200 men, killed and wounded, ſeveral wounded officers were taken, and about 80 *Europeans* made priſoners.

" The 24th *Bengal* battalion loſt two ſtand of colours, moſt of their *European* officers killed or wounded, and 45 *Sepoys*. Major *Cotgrave* was killed, and three or four *European* ſoldiers were wounded. The

merit of this repulſe ought certainly to be attributed to the 24th *Bengal* ſepoys, and the fire of the guns and muſquetry from the *Redan*. The reſerve, in general, behaved well after they recovered their defeat by the *Cooleys*, except the picquet from the *European* brigade, which deſerved death for their bad behaviour." The above is an extract which Colonel *Cathcart* allowed me to take from his journal when I deſired his opinion of the Company's ſepoys. I have detailed the conduct of ſepoys in a night attack, when they are moſt ſubject to panic; and he told me that, at the battle of *Cuddalore*, when he was ordered to retreat with the *European* granadiers and 73d regiment, much exhauſted and broken, the troops *de la Mark* were deterred from charging, by the regularity of Colonel *Blane*'s regiment of ſepoys, who marched off in good line, under a fire of muſquetry and of grape.

I was alſo informed by that reſpectable young man, in 1784, that while he ſerved as a King's officer, "there were ſeveral cauſes of jealouſy between the component

parts of our *Indian* armies, eſpecially in the *Carnatic*; the allowances which the troops of the different preſidencies received on the ſame ſervice were not alike; the *Bengal* troops received an increaſe of pay becauſe they were ſouth of the river *Kiſtna*; the King's troops claimed the ſame emolument in conſequence of a ſtipulation which had been made in their favour at home.

" The *Carnatic* battalions did as much duty as either, upon half the pay which the *Bengaleſe* received. The officers of His Majeſty's forces command all thoſe of the ſame rank in the Company's ſervice: the preference is due to the King's commiſſion; but this precedence is attended with inconvenience on duty.

" A Captain in the Company's ſervice is, in general, many years acquiring his rank; he then gets a battalion of ſepoys, which is a conſiderable and profitable truſt.

" In moſt of the King's regiments ſerving in *India* the Captains had been a very

ſhort time in the army, and had obtained rank by raiſing independant companies; they frequently were on duty with veteran Captains of *Carnatic* ſepoys, who had ſerved twenty years, have had commands, and experience which rendered them equal to the charge of a brigade; the ſepoy officer mounts his picquet with a battalion, and, to give confidence to the ſepoys, a Captain of His Majeſty's ſervice is added to the detail, and though he brings only fifty *Europeans*, his rank gives him the command of the poſt: a very mortifying circumſtanue to the Captain commandant of a battalion; and beſides an important truſt is confided to a comparatively inexperienced officer.

" The gift of promotion is veſted in the civil power at *Madras* as in *Bengal*, the bad effects of which is felt, although, for ſeveral cauſes, the diſcipline of the coaſt troops is not equally ralaxed.

" The *Carnatic* has always been a ſcene of war; the coaſt officers of ſepoys have been on conſtant ſervice, and oppoſed to

aſtive enemies; their military appearance under arms, their preciſion in manœuvre and attention to duty of many of their battalions, do theſe troops great honour. The *Carnatic* ſepoys are not men of high caſt; their religion does not interfere with any part of their diſcipline; they are hardy little men, and undergo hardſhips with chearfulneſs; their courage is more an effect of diſcipline, and a confidence in their *European* officers, than the fire of innate proweſs.

"The *Bengal* ſepoys have many religious prejudices which interfere with diſcipline; for inſtance, ablutions, and a cuſtom of ſtripping off their accoutrements and clothes before meals. They are men of high caſt, and nice ſenſe of honour; ſoldiers by birth, and of a moſt athletic form.

"Several of the battalions with which I have been on duty were in ſo high order, that they did honour to the officers who had trained them; by long continuance on ſervice they had conquered many of the

ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the ſepoys; although beneath the dignity of a *Rajapout* to dig, or carry burthens, I have ſeen whole battalions of them at work in a ditch, and carrying *Palmyra* trees for platforms; they ſaved their feelings by refuſing payment, and aſſerted that voluntary fatigue did not degrade them: I hardly ever ſaw a frown upon one of theſe good-natured fellows' countenances, though they were in arrears, had been two years from home, and diſtant 12 or 1800 miles from their families, in a climate which did not agree with them: this ſhews that, with good uſage, the *Bengal* ſepoys are formidable troops: their innate courage and athletic form would incline me to prefer them to the ſepoys of the *Carnatic* on equal diſcipline.

" It cannot be denied that luxury, and the profits of the military line, have introduced mercantile projects among the Company's officers, and promotion has depended upon the civil government and on friends. If a young man of the beſt diſpoſition, upon his arrival in *Bengal*, is ſent

to an out-ſtation, his brother officers ſoon initiate him in their ſecrets; if he thinks his commanding officer over ſtrict, and he has intereſt, his friends at the Preſidency procure his exchange to another cantonment, or leave of abſence; he ſtruts up, and preſents this defiance to his commandant, who muſt ſubmit; and by a few ſuch adventures an officer is ſickened from carrying on diſcipline.

" After a few years at *Calcutta*, ſpent in the height of diſſipation, and having ſeen little of his regiment, the young officer perhaps has intereſt to be ſent on a ſmall detached command; judge how fit he is to the command of native troops, and to protect the inhabitants of a diſtrict from oppreſſion; his *Banyan* leagues himſelf with the ſepoys; they plunder the country, ſqueeze the people, who dare not complain; this upper ſervant frequently gives the young commandant part of the ſpoils, aſſures him the diſtrict is happy under his protection, and the preſents are only tokens of their gratitude, or *Bazar tythes*, the regular dues of his ſtation; ten to one if

he knew the full extent of the miſery he occaſioned, the officer would rather not have the money; but he muſt have *Rupees*, and therefore makes few inquiries; he ſoon becomes habituated to the receipt of theſe ſums; and if they are not frequent, the *Banyan* is diſmiſſed and replaced by another. By the time he gets a battalion he has ſaved money; if his ideas are moderate, he prepares to return with a ſmall competency to *Europe*; if he aſpires to rank, ſhould he live to attain it, he has greater ſcope for the ſame practices.

" This is the ſchool of the army which defends the moſt valuable provinces. It may be aſked, if this is a juſt report of the *Bengal* army, how all theſe forts have been ſtormed and native armies defeated by *Bengal* officers oppoſed to them with very inferior force? the luxury of the enemy being equal to theirs, they were, in this reſpect, on a par. The *Bengal* troops were ſufficiently diſciplined to change their poſition in action, while their antagoniſts were, from their irregularity, incapable of evolutions, and had very bad artillery oppoſed to

the *English* field pieces, which were numerous and well ſerved. *Bengal* has produced ſome capital officers, whoſe merit is the greater on account of the bad ſchool in which they were formed." Such having been the impartial ſtate of the army when Lord *Cornwallis* entered on his government, it is obvious great alterations appeared to be neceſſary. If the *European* troops have been augmented, the army has become more effective; but it ſtill remains to introduce the neceſſary meaſure which I was encouraged by the ſame friend to believe practicable.

" Arrangements might be made which would be conducive of harmony in our *Indian* armies if all the troops ſerved one maſter; but it never can be the caſe ſo long as ſeparate intereſts are ſuppoſed to exiſt: the King's officers, with ſuperior rank, expect all the commands; the Company's officers conſider them as intruders, depriving them of rewards due to long ſervices or loſs of health. As this is my opinion, I have never turned my thoughts on *Indian* ſervice, but on the idea of the

military government being in the hands of His Majesty exclusively, or solely in the Company; in either of which cases, an *English* officer or soldier might easily be established on a more respectable footing than the *British* Constitution in *Europe* can admit of.

" *Hindostan* is accustomed to a military government; an army may be kept in discipline and protect the rights of the natives without exciting their jealousy; a judicious use of our resources ought to render the *British* arms paramount in *India*; but luxury and abuses have pervaded both the military and civil service: yet it does not follow that great retrenchments of pay and allowances would be solid economy. I should presume, if the troops were equally and well paid, but kept in discipline, our affairs will be more likely to prosper than if reductions of pay were adopted suited to the idea of expence in *Europe*.

" It cannot be expected that officers of credit will go 4,000 leagues from their native country, to fight against a hot climate,

and paſs their lives abſent from friends who are moſt dear to them, unleſs theſe diſadvantages are in ſome meaſure counterbalanced by emoluments which enable them to ſupport their rank genteely."

There appears only one ſubject of well-grounded alarm to the *Indian* army at this time, and it is a ſubject of difficulty and delicacy to decide. It is ſuppoſed, that all the officers of *Indian* regiments of *Europeans* are intended to be made King's officers, and their rank in the field with the King's *European* regiments, ſent out on extraordinary emergency, will be according to the general army liſt; and it is imagined that the *European* officers attached to the ſepoy ſervice will be totally excluded from the eſtabliſhment of *European* regulars. This, in a great degree, would imitate the *French* ſyſtem. The *French* army at *Cuddalore*, in June, 1783, conſiſted of the regiments *de la Marck*, *les Allemands*, *Royal Rouſſillon*, *d'Auſtraſie*, *d'Acquitaine*; detachments from the regiments *de l'Iſle de France*, *de Forêt*, *de la Legion de Lauzun*, *ou Volontaires Etrangers*, *& de Bour-*

bon, and three companies of *European* artillery. The whole of their sepoys 1200, 800 *caffres*, strong and active assistants to their artillery. Their auxiliaries 4 *Russalahs* of *Tippoo Saheb*'s infantry, about 1200 men, 4000 *Mysorean* cavalry, commanded by *Seyd Saheb*. The whole army and fleet was under the command of the Marquis *de Bussy*, and he reinforced the garrison on the 24th of June with 1200 *Europeans*; and, without endangering the safety of the ships, he might have attempted any particular attack with 5000 *Europeans*; but regiments unseasoned to the climate have many great disadvantages. The *French* sepoys were at all times as a degraded corps, and the *European* officers serving in it were treated by the King's officers *de haut en bas*, insomuch that only adventurers were inclined to serve in their native regiments. The superiority, and indeed the excellence, of the *British* sepoys has arisen from the *European* and sepoy regiments being officered from the same list, which proved at the same time a corrective to the slow and regular rise without purchase, which ought to be firmly adhered to; conse-

quently I have been long of opinion, that the ſeparation of the *European* officers of ſepoys from thoſe of the *European* regiments in *India*, would not only occaſion univerſal diſſatisfaction, but would materially injure both the ſepoy and *European* corps: as it is, the promotion of the Company's army is ſufficiently ſlow, there being Engſins 10, Lieutenants 20, Majors and Lieutenant-Colonels 25 to 27, and Colonels 30 years ſtanding; if they roſe in proportion to the army of *Great Britain* there could be no juſt complaint; and in times of peace, the officers on the *Indian* eſtabliſhment ought to be indulged with leave of abſence for health, or for their private affairs, without being deprived of their promotion or pay; but the period of abſence ſhould be made compatible with the diſcipline of troops, and with juſtice to the maſs of officers, who muſt have their turn of abſence, and not be obliged to do the duty of thoſe who have intereſt to protract their leave of abſence: and it will be juſt and prudent to anticipate the requeſt of the *Indian* army. As to a corps of engineer *Cadets*, Mr. *Pitt*

may find a paper addreſſed to him in April or May, 1788, by a perſon who did not ſupport his meaſures, explanatory of this opinion; and the meaſure ſtill being under the conſideration of Government, farther obſervation to elucidate what I have already ſaid on this ſubject * in the foregoing pages would be ſuperfluous. If we conſider the probable conſequences of the general ſyſtem of *India* which has been eſtabliſhed ſince 1784, we muſt augur well for *Britiſh India*; the chain of ſubordination is completed, and the different prejudices can no longer counteract each other. If proper perſons are not ſelected for important offices, the fault is not imputable to the act of Parliament; and if a doubt can exiſt whether military honour will be leſs ſecure under the direct order of the Crown than they have been, let them read Sir *Eyre Coote*'s pathetic minute on the records of the Supreme Council on his laſt departure for the *Carnatic*.

The ſame apology which was good pre-

* Introduction, p. xxxviii.

vious to 1784, cannot be admitted by the Commiſſioners and Directors under the preſent act: the power of *Britiſh India* may have its full effect, and the errors and counteraction of former times may be avoided. How could a Governor, of abilities and honour equal to Lord *Macartney*, intuitively manage the *Carnatic* and eſtimate the reſpective ſervices? In reading the letter from the Preſident and Select Committee of *Madras* to the Commander in Chief, dated the 3d of June, 1783, we muſt ſee the fallacy of commanding Generals by precedent, without weighing the relative circumſtances of the periods. The reference to the force with which General *Lawrence* drove the *French* from *India*, could not be deciſive of the force neceſſary to attack *Cuddalore* in 1783; nor the march of Sir *Eyre Coote*, in 1782, to victual *Vellore*, could not be a rule of reprobating the ſlow progreſs of General *Stuart*'s army, ſtated to be only three miles a day; when, in the former caſe, the carriage bullocks were ſufficient for that ſervice, though it is known that the Government could only provide one third of the number which

that general required, as neceſſary for the general ſervice of the campaign; and in the latter caſe, the want of carriage bullocks making it neceſſary to move ſeveral marches in advance, and ſend back the cattle with an eſcort to bring up the reſidue of grain which had been left *en depot*, would make the average work of the bullocks by no means to correſpond with the average advance of the army. The anxiety of extinguiſhing the *French* power at *Cuddalore* before *Tippoo* returned from *Bednore*, was naturally an object to ſtimulate exertion; but the *Madras* Government muſt have lamented not having ſtrengthened the northern army, inſtead of queſtioning the propriety of that requiſition, when the *Engliſh* army having forced the lines, deſiſted from battering the fort of *Cuddalore*, becauſe, had the *curtain* been laid open, the force in the fort was too great for the *Engliſh* army to ſtorm it after *Suffrein* had returned; but had the detachment from the ſouthern army arrived, an aſſault might have been ſucceſsful: fortunately the dilemma vaniſhed on the arrival of the Deputies with the preliminaries of peace.

The Government ordered the army to return to *Madras*, which General *Bruce* was unable to obey for want of carriage bullocks; as an expedient, General *Bruce* was ordered to leave the artillery and ſtores upon receipt under commiſſaries in *Cuddalore*, where, it was not doubted, the politeneſs of Monſ. *de Buſſy* would give them room until *Cuddalore* was given up to us, or it was convenient to ſend for them: this order was remonſtrated againſt, and thought too unmilitary and humiliating to be complied with; in the mean time the camp followers periſhed, after the peace, from want of proviſions, and the relief did not reach the *Engliſh* at *Cuddalore* till the 20th of *July*, 1783. The Government muſt have repented its haſty cenſure of the military, if it weighed the relative circumſtances of the *French* and *Engliſh*, on the ſuppoſition that the interval from the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities to the 20th of July had been a continuation of warfare. The circumſtances which influenced the temper of the civil and military councils of *Britiſh India* at that time are well ſtated by

Colonel *Fullarton* *: that officer has given a very full detail of the operations of the southern army, which he joined with the King's troops in October, 1782, when Colonel *Lang*'s command to the south of the *Coleroon* was made respectable. He was ordered by General *Stuart* to join the army destined to attack the *French* at *Cuddalore*; but before he could join the Commander in Chief, Colonel *Fullarton* was appointed by the *Madras* Government to succeed Colonel *Lang*; and when hostilities with the *French* ceased, the southern army became the most respectable army in the *Carnatic*. It would have been fortunate if his command had commenced at an earlier period of the war, his narrative then would have included the progress of Colonel *Humberston* on the *Malabar* coast, and no one would have done justice to a deceased friend with more ability, for he had looked up to him as an officer, and when he considered him as a man, Colonel *Fullarton* had valued himself in the distinction of being the friend of Colonel *Humberston*.

* A View of the *English* Interests in *India*, p. 32, &c.

The countenance which Lord *Macartney* gave to Colonel *Humberſton*'s ideas of promoting offenſive opperations againſt *Tippoo* was very judicious; but when that officer was ordered to join General *Mathews* at *Onore*, the whole ſtrength of the *Carnatic* ought to have been directed againſt the *French*; poſſibly Lord *Macartney* did not know that the *Bombay* Preſidency had ordered Colonel *Humberſton*'s army from the *Zamorines* country, for at that period the want of unity of plan ſacrificed the public ſervice.

A letter from *Bombay* falſely repreſented Colonel *Humberſton*'s being defeated, and having loſt all his baggage, which letter, printed in the *Engliſh* papers, was all we heard of that officer; and it is remarkable how deficient the *Madras* Government was in local information and circumſtances of the country. When Colonel *Fullarton* approached *Palagatcherry*, in November, 1783, a "near inſpection of its ſtrength impreſſed him with ſerious apprehenſions that much time might be waſted in its reduction*;"

* A View of the *Engliſh* Intereſts in *India*, p. 163.

and he was minute in a defcription of the place, "becaufe its confequence and local fituation were not accurately known to *Europeans**:" fuch had been the dilemma of Colonel *Humberftone* the preceding year. That officer had, however, taken poft at *Mangaree* in October, 1782, and leaving in that fort ftores and fick, under a proper guard, he had advanced with four field pieces and two amufettes, and in force reconnoitred *Palagatcherry*. By the general orders, of which I have a copy, the journal he fent to me having never arrived, I know that he left *Mangaree* the 17th of October; and October 19, 20, and 21 were employed in marching round *Palagatcherry*; and having afcertained its ftrength, he received reports of *Tippoo* being expected, and being without hopes of reinforcements from Colonel *Lang*'s army, he retreated to *Mangaree*, where he remained till the 11th of November, when he fell back to *Ramgurrie*, and made his difpofition to retire to *Paniani* † if his *Hircarahs*

* A View of the *Englifh* Interefts in *India*, p. 166.

† Colonel *Humberfton*'s correfpondance with Lieutenant *Groves* from his different ftations, in the months

confirmed the rumour of *Tippoo*'s approach; and ſo excellent were his arrangements, that although *Tippoo* with his army appeared two hours after his *Hircarahs* brought him certain intelligence of his arrival from the *Carnatic*, he detached his irregulars by the hills, impracticable for his baggage, and made good his retreat to *Paniani*, in the face of *Tippoo*'s army, without the loſs of his ſick, his ſtores, or his artillery, on the 18th and 19th of November, 1782; when he arrived at *Paniani*, Colonel *Macleod* had juſt landed; Colonel *Humberſton*, in his turn, was thereby ſuperſeded, in a moment moſt critical to his glory; in the eſtimation of his profeſſional friends he acquired it, by effecting a moſt difficult taſk, the retreat of infantry in the face of a ſuperior body of cavalry: he laboured hard for fame;

of October and November, 1782, ſhew the precarious ſituation in which his army was for want of every neceſſary; and the journal of Lieutenant *Groves*, commander of the armed tranſport the *Pondicherry*, ſhew the zeal and activity of that officer in complying with his directions. It is remarkable Lieutenant *Groves* had been employed, with the ſame rank, at the ſame place, and on the ſame ſervice, thirty years before, patronized by Sir *C. Saunders* and Sir *E. Hughes*.

and his zeal, as ſecond in command, did not abate, even when he was ordered to join General *Mathews*; and he was obliged to take leave of his moſt favourite ſchemes for the benefit of his country, and was removed ſtill farther from the command.

I inſert an extract from four of Colonel *Humberſton*'s letters, which will ſhew that a military voyage of armed tranſports is unlike a voyage of four months in a Company's ſhip, and to claim for him a portion of merit in firſt ſtriking out the proper mode of protecting the *Carnatic*. When Colonel *Fullarton* was ſtopped in his career of honour, he was maſter of *Palagatcherry*, and was conſulting whether it would be better to move down to *Paniani* for ſtores, and proceed to attack *Seringapatam* by the paſs of *Dalmacherry*, or to return with the ſtores and proceed through the *Coimbetore*; but his views were finally turned to the forts of *Settimungulum* and *Ardenille*, as the eaſieſt way to *Seringapatam*, when the orders from the above-mentioned *Madras*

* View of the *Engliſh* Intereſts, p. 169.

Deputies directed all poſts, &c. to be evacuated which had been taken after the 26th of July, 1783, which the *Madras* Government, by their minutes of conſultation, ordered to be obeyed.

The late war with *Tippoo* began at the point at which Colonel *Fullarton* left off: Lord *Cornwallis*, by connecting his forces, and directing them by *Bangalore* to *Tippoo's* capital, in the ſecond campaign, effected the brilliant ſervice. The conſequences of unity in the ſervice, and defined powers veſted in a Governor General, appear ſtrongly by contraſting the periods.

Callicut, on the *Malabar* Coaſt,
September 2d, 1782.

Dear Sir,

AN opportunity of writing to *Europe* has occurred very unexpectedly; we have juſt heard at this place that the Indiamen ſail this month for *England* from *Bombay*; ſuch an opportunity could not have occurred

at a more unſeaſonable time, as the rainy ſeaſon is juſt over, and our troops took the field this morning. The hurry and confuſion attending our preparations for the field will prevent my writing to you ſo fully as I wiſh; I have kept a very regular journal of our voyage and adventures, and was making an extract from it for your entertainment, but a ſevere dyſentery, (which had very near put an end to my adventures,) and the hurry ſince I recovered of getting ready to march, will prevent your receiving this precious *morceau*; I will, however, finiſh it when I have leiſure. It contains very learned diſquiſitions on the ſea ſcurvy, very excellent advice with regard to armed tranſports and ſecret expeditions, and a comparative view of the difference between fighting in the Houſe of Commons and at ſea, particularly with a 50-gun ſhip and a frigate againſt a 74: but all this I muſt defer till another opportunity; I ſhall at preſent content myſelf with giving you a very ſhort account of our adventures ſince we came into the *Indian* ſeas.

After the ſad buſineſs of *Saldanba* bay, and Mr. *Johnſon's* departure, we made for the iſland of *Johanna*; we were ſhort of proviſions, on an allowance of a quart of water per day, and our men ill of the ſcurvy: in this ſituation we were becalmed between *Madagaſcar* and the main of *Africa*, where we were pretty nearly broiled; and when we arrived at the iſland of *Johanna*, our ſhip exhibited the moſt ſhocking ſpectacle of miſery and diſtreſs that ever I was witneſs to; and ſome of the veſſels were worſe, few better, than we were. We loſt very near a third of the men on board between the *Cape* and *Johanna*: we had, as you know, ſeventeen officers in the cabin all the paſſage, and at the time I mention, no leſs than ſeven ſick at one time. To be crammed for a twelvemonth into twenty-two feet ſquare, with ſeventeen people, who ate, drank, ſlept, ſhifted, and waſhed themſelves in that one apartment, was what you may call a comfortable ſituation; but when ſo many of theſe were ſick in their births, it became really too much to bear: *Cathcart* and myſelf were ſo fortunate as to

preserve our healths during the whole passage; but after the disappointment of all our expectations, a general dejection prevailed; and the uncommon length of the passage, and confinement on board such crowded ships, impaired every constitution more or less; even those who had no absolute illness, showed, by their pale, sickly countenances, that they had suffered by the voyage. The island of *Johanna* recovered our scorbutic men surprizingly, and was of service to us all, except an unfortunate party of *Highland* officers, who all pitched their tents together in a most beautiful valley, which proved one of the most fatal spots I ever heard of. They were all seized with fevers, some before we left the island, others soon after our embarkation; eleven died out of fifteen who composed the party; and two officers of the 98th were, when they left us, dying of the consequences of that fever: almost all their servants died; and eleven women from the *Pondicherry*, who had a hut in the same valley to wash our linen, every one died. When I went on shore, they had pitched my tent in the centre of them; but I hap-

pened very luckily to have ſtudied *Lind* very hard during the voyage, and I obſerved that this valley had every appearance of thoſe ſituations which he cautions you to avoid; it was ſhut up from the ſea breeze, and the beautiful woods which ſurrounded it on every ſide made it damp, and prevented the free circulation of air; I accordingly ſtruck my tent, in ſpite of all the reproaches I received for deſerting the *Highlanders*, and pitched pretty high on the ſide of a neighbouring hill, in a very dry ſoil, and expoſed to the ſea breeze; *Fullarton* pitched his near mine; *Cathcart*, *Hutchiſon*, and a colony, about equal in number to that in the valley, was formed on the hill; the advantage of ſituation, and the neceſſity of attending to it in hot climates, could not be more ſtrongly marked; not one of our colony on the hill ſuffered the leaſt illneſs, but were, on the contrary, much better in our healths after we left the iſland; *Fullarton* in particular, who landed very ill, recovered during our ſtay there. When we left *Johanna* we expected to be at *Bombay* in a fortnight, inſtead of which, after being two months at ſea,

we found ourſelves at *Morebat*, on the coaſt of *Arabia*, and as the monſoon was directly againſt us, our expectations of reaching *Bombay* was more diſtant than ever. In this miſerable and barren ſpot, the General and Captain *Alms*, of the *Monmouth*, agreed in opinion, that it would be proper for the men of war to loſe no time in joining Sir *Edward Hughes*, as *Suffrein*'s ſquadron would give the *French* too great a ſuperiority; they accordingly left us, taking great part of the 98th regiment with them, and left me in command of the reſt of the troops. *Fullarton* and others, who were going on, condoled with me on being left, and thought it a diſagreeable circumſtance; I was myſelf of a very different opinion; I thought that from the various unforeſeen occurrences of war, it was a great chance that we might not meet with General *Meadows* again; in which caſe I might land in *India* with a reſpectable body of troops, and might probably get ſome of the Company's added to them, and obtain an independent command: all this has happened.

When the men of war who left us came to *Bombay*, Sir *E. Hughes* with the fleet was on the other coaſt; they had ſailed and left orders at *Bombay* for the tranſports to follow them immediately. On proceeding down this coaſt, Captain *Smith*, of the *San Carlos*, and myſelf received intelligence of the *French* fleet's being daily expected at *Ceylon*; this obliged the ſhips to return to *Bombay*, and, on the way up, I landed the troops here in February laſt. This place was juſt taken by Major *Abington*; but the enemy remained in the country in force, and *Hyder* ſent a reinforcement under the command of *Mugdum Ali Khan*, his brother-in-law. Major *Abington* had been a very fortunate man; he found it much more for his intereſt to remain in the command of the town of *Callicut* than to take the field under my command: when I found the enemy were within fifteen miles of this place, I inſiſted on his joining his troops to mine, and proceeding againſt the enemy; he begged leave to reſign, to which I very readily conſented, and he went to *Bombay*. His reſignation, and his objections to move, would have

led me into a ſcrape had I been unſucceſsful; I ſhould, in that caſe, have been accuſed by every one of raſhneſs and obſtinacy, in neglecting the advice of an officer who knew the country, and who, ſooner than co-operate in ſuch meaſures, retired from his command. I was, however, more lucky; on the 7th of laſt April I came up with *Mugdum Ali Khan*, commonly called *Mugdum Saheb*, and with a ſmall part of my troops gave him a total defeat; he himſelf, ſeveral principal officers, and between three and four hundred men, fell in the action; his force conſiſted of about 3,000 foot, near 1,000 horſe, and four pieces of artillery: I am aſhamed to name my number, they were ſo few, that you will think me raſh to have ventured an action. In conſequence of this action, the enemy evacuated all this country, which belonged formerly to a *Gentoo Rajah*, called the *Zamorine*, whom I reſtored to his poſſeſſions. The enemy retired to a fort called *Palacatcherry*, which commands the only paſs that is in the mountains which ſeparate this country from *Hyder Ally*'s. I attempted to march up the country to

reduce this fort, but the rainy ſeaſon coming on much ſooner than uſual, compelled me to return, and gave me a dyſentery by which my conſtitution has received the ſevereſt ſhock it ever ſuſtained.

The rainy ſeaſon being over, I opened the campaign this day. I mean firſt to reduce *Paliacatcherry*; and if I ſucceed in that, I have many eligible plans afterwards, the preference of which muſt be determined by circumſtances. If I am fortunate, I may aſk to leave this country with credit.

Tellicherry, on the *Malabar Coaſt*,
December 29, 1782.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE ſhot ſo many letters at you, that I can have no doubt of ſome of them having reached you. I ſhall, therefore, take it for granted that you know of my having had the command of a ſmall army on this coaſt ſince laſt March,—that you

have received my letters, informing you of my having defeated *Mugdum Saheb*, and afterwards *Goolam Odin*, before the rains; and of my intention of going up to *Paliacatcherry* this campaign, the fortrefs which commands the pafs, through the *Balagate* Mountains, to the *Coromandel* Coaft. I have told you in my other letters, how my march to this important fortrefs drew upon me *Tippoo Saheb*, *Hyder*'s beft general, and eldeft fon, with an army of 30,000 men and 24 pieces of artillery; and I have given you the circumftances of our retreat before this formidable army, with only 2000 men; in which we marched 36 miles without ftopping, and croffed 3 large rivers in their face, without lofing a fingle piece of baggage or artillery. I juft mention the heads of thefe circumftances, left you fhould not have received my other letters; and I fhall continue what has fince happened.— The place to which I directed my retreat is a town, called *Paniani*, about a degree and ½ to the fouth of this place, a ftrong poft, and in which I had my magazines. On my arrival there, I found Colonel *Macleod*, of the 42d, who being my fenior

officer, of courſe, took the command. A few days after our arrival, and before we had time to ſtrengthen ourſelves by any works, *Tippoo Saheb* attempted to force us. Monſ. *Lally* planned and conducted the attack; they were repulſed with the loſs of upwards of 1090 men killed and wounded; amongſt whom were two *French* captains of Monſ. *Lally*'s corps, *Goolam O'Din*, commiſſioned officer for *Hyder* before *Tippoo*'s arrival, and ſeveral principal officers. On this ſevere check, *Tippoo* retired about eight miles from us, and lay there inactive ſeveral days: during that time we worked hard, and intrenched ourſelves completely. We expected and wiſhed he would again attack us, inſtead of which he at once moved off to the eaſtward by very rapid marches, and, to our ſurpriſe, withdrew his whole force to the other coaſt. We have received intelligence of *Hyder*'s death, though not yet poſitively confirmed, which accounts for his conduct. It is too long a detail for me to explain to you all the reaſons which induced me to undertake this expedition, or the political conſequences it may have, (or even has had) on the gene-

ral iſſue of the war. The Preſidency of *Bombay*, under whoſe orders I am placed by the commander in chief, is extremely mortified, that a King's officer ſhould, in ſpite of them, retain, for ſo long a time, the command of their troops; they, therefore, very generouſly left me 12 months without money, or ſtores, or orders, fully determined to diſapprove of any plan I adopted. The Preſidency of *Madras*, on the contrary, have the ſame opinion of the expedition that I have, and have felt the good conſequences of it, although not ſucceſsful. I have, therefore, general cenſure from *Bombay*, and thanks from *Madras*. The preſent plan of the Preſidency of *Bombay* will, I ſhould imagine, be liable to much cenſure. They have withdrawn all the troops from the *Callicut* territories, and have ſent down their Commander in Chief, Brigadier-General *Mathews*, with a very conſiderable addition of force to attack *Hyder*'s provinces, to the northward of *Mangalore*. The conſequences of abandoning *Callicut* are terrible; we have uſed every means in our power to induce the *Nairs*, the inhabitants of that province, to

join us; in confequence of which, they revolted from *Hyder*'s Government, and gave us every fupply and affiftance, and joined us in confiderable numbers: in return, we abandoned them, without remorfe, to the mercy of a moft implacable enemy; and any man who is acquainted with the maxims of *Hyder*'s Government, and has been witnefs to the cruelty of his punifhments, muft be fhocked when he reflects on the fufferings that will inevitably be inflicted on thefe unfortunate people. It muft be totally deftructive of all future confidence on this coaft, as to our alliance alone they will very juftly attribute the calamities they will fuffer. If, however, the abandoning our friends and allies was juftified by ftate neceffity, or even by the attainment of any much more important object, it might be vindicated by the maxims of *Machiavelian* policy; but I think this does not appear to be the cafe. The only object of military operations againft *Hyder*'s poffeffions on this coaft, is to compel him to quit the *Carnatic*; for the people have at laft difcovered, that Sir *Eyre Coote*'s excurfions in the *Carnatic*, and his

fruitlefs victories, have very little effect on the iffue of the war. While *Hyder* continues in the *Carnatic*, he is, and muft be, abfolute mafter of the country; our garrifons, even *Madras* itfelf, can protect only within the reach of its guns: when our army marches out, they are pretty much in the fame fituation, and furrounded on every fide by innumerable bodies of cavalry, command only the ground they occupy. They derive no advantage from thefe excurfions; they find the country laid wafte on every fide of them; nor can they procure a day's provifion beyond what they bring with them from *Madras*. Our army has never been poffeffed of conveyance for above 20 days' provifion, and confequently never equal to any enterprife of moment. *Hyder*, on the contrary, has the moft ample conveyance for artillery, ftores, and provifions; poffeffed of this advantage, and commanding an army of natives of the climate, and confifting chiefly of cavalry, he can march 30 miles while we march 10, and confequently carries on the war in the manner he prefers. He knows, as well as Sir *Eyre*, the day on which he will

be compelled to return to *Madras* for provisions; and during the time our army continues in the field, he either harrasses them incessantly, or, if he thinks he has any advantage, gives battle. We have, on these occasions, always defeated him; but what advantage can an army, like ours, derive from victory?—Experience proves that we derive no advantage whatever; we drive *Hyder* from the field, but we can neither take his artillery, nor prevent his retreat; every man we lose on these occasions is valuable to us, and though he should lose ten for one, it is a matter of no consequence to him. He, therefore, fights with every advantage: victory is of no avail to us, and one defeat would be utter ruin. It is evident, from these circumstances, that while *Hyder* can carry on the war, in a great measure, at our expence, and while his own dominions are untouched, and his resources unimpaired, we may be certain, he will never relinquish so valuable an object as the acquisition of the *Carnatic*. It is equally evident that, if you can invade his territories, he must return for their defence; and if you can support an army in

his country, you retaliate upon him the game he is now playing upon you, and fight him with his own reſources. His dominions reach from the interior part of the peninſula to the coaſt of *Malabar*; and on that coaſt are ſituated many of his largeſt towns, and richeſt and moſt fertile provinces. The neighbourhood of the ſea and many large rivers give us every advantage for the conveyance of ſtores and proviſions; and many of theſe provinces are late conqueſts, and the inhabitants averſe to his government. It is aſtoniſhing how all theſe advantages have been ſo long overlooked, and even now they are made uſe of, how feebly, and in a manner not by any means adequate to the very great advantages which might be derived from them. The provinces of *Canara* and *Onore*, againſt which we are at preſent proceeding, are very valuable, and are on the confines of the *Mahrattah* dominions, from whom *Hyder*, ſome years ago, took ſome conſiderable poſſeſſions; and from our bending our efforts this way, I hope we expect the *Mahrattahs* to join us; in that caſe, we ſhall receive from them every thing we

want,—conveyance for ſtores and proviſions, and a large body of cavalry; ſuch a junction would ſhake *Hyder's* power to the center, and even his capital might fall. But if this expedition is undertaken without a view of ſuch junction, we cannot proceed far from the coaſt, nor make any impreſſion of conſequence. On the contrary, we might have been able to do ſomething effectual, by entering his country through the paſs of *Palacatcherry*. A large army has been formed on the other coaſt at *Tanjore*, which has now marched to the weſtward of *Trichinopoly*, under the command of Colonel *Lang*. The magazines, which Mr. *Sullivan*, the Chief of *Tanjore*, has formed at *Trichinopoly*, and the quantity of draught and carriage cattle he has collected, are, in proportion to the army, far ſuperior to any yet formed this war in *India*. The plan concerted between *Sullivan*, Colonel *Lang*, and myſelf, was to form a junction of our two armies in *Hyder's* intermediate country; or if the approach of a larger army ſhould render it impoſſible for me to take *Paliacatcherry*, Colonel *Lang* propoſed marching acroſs to that fortreſs, and by

that means effecting a junction; our two armies, if supplied in the manner *Sullivan* has undertaken, would have been equal to *Hyder*'s whole force; and by marching to the northward, would be in the very center of his dominions, and at no great distance from his capital. A stroke so decisive must have drawn him from the *Carnatic*, and as we were in a state to maintain ourselves in his country, if our grand army from *Madras* could by any means have been able to follow him, the consequences would probably have been decisive of the war. If, on the *Bombay* plan at present pursued, they have views of a junction with the *Mahrattahs*, these consequences may still ensue, and *Lang*'s army will make a capital diversion to the southward. But if we have no prospect of a junction with the *Mahrattahs*, we have no means of conveyance, nor is our force sufficient to withstand *Hyder*, if he pours his whole force upon us from the *Carnatic*.

Goa, February 16, 1783.

Dear Sir,

The hurry in which I write prevents my giving you a detail of the great events which have lately happened: take the following ſhort account:

The Preſidency of *Bombay*, in conſequence of orders from the Directors and the Supreme Council, exerted themſelves to make a vigorous impreſſion on *Hyder*'s territories on the *Malabar* coaſt; his moſt valuable poſſeſſion on this coaſt is the province of *Bidenore*. The army I, and afterwards Colonel *Macleod*, commanded, was ordered from *Callicut* to join the force ſent from *Bombay*: the whole made a very fine army, under the command of Brigadier-General *Mathews*. His conduct as an officer exceeds all credibility, and his unexampled ſucceſs aſtoniſhed thoſe who were witneſs to it; and through that me-

dium the public muſt judge favourably of it. At the capital of the province we found *Hyder's* principal magazines, a very fine foundery for braſs cannon, a powder manufactory, and immenſe ſtores of every kind. The province which we obtained in ſo ſhort a time and with ſo little loſs (about 200 men killed and wounded), paid an annual revenue of 700,000l. to *Hyder*; and *Mangalore*, his principal ſea-port, is within it. The principal cauſes of our great ſucceſs were *Hyder's* death; a miſunderſtanding generally ſuppoſed to exiſt between two brothers, his ſons; and the inveterate animoſity which *Tippoo Saheb*, now *Nabob*, is known to bear to *Hyat Saheb*, the Governor of *Bidenore*: this latter circumſtance depriving him of every hope in that quarter, induced him, when he found us advancing rapidly upon him, to ſurrender the capital and the province, on condition of being continued as Governor. This province is fairly emboſomed in that great chain of mountains, the *Gauts*, which runs north and ſouth through the *Indian* peninſula: theſe mountains come within 25 miles of the ſea, and it is impoſſible to

penetrate into the interior country and the capital but by two or three very ſtrong and difficult paſſes; and it has the peculiar felicity of being equally defended by paſſes on the eaſtern ſide, from whence *Tippoo* muſt of courſe attack it. You, or any other able General, would, I am ſure, think the plan of defence very obvious, by ſecuring theſe paſſes into the *Myſore* country with your whole united force: not ſo thinks General *Mathews*.

It is about 120 miles from *Bidenore* to *Seringapatam*, *Tippoo*'s capital; there is no force there, nor any between it and *Bidenore*, but what is ſhut up in forts of no great importance. We have accounts of *Tippoo* having taken the field in the *Carnatic*, of his having been joined by a body of *French*, and of their ſuppoſed deſign of attacking *Vandiwaſh*. When *Tippoo* hears of the conqueſt and ſurrender of *Bidenore*, he muſt, of courſe, tremble for his capital, (as he cannot yet know the diſpoſitions of our general, and the ſtate of our army:) there are only two alternatives; he muſt either ſay to us, reſtore me *Bidenore* and

I will evacuate the *Carnatic*, or he muſt march with the whole of his force to recover what he has loſt: the inſtant he adopts the latter meaſure, our army will recover *Arcot* and every place in the *Carnatic*, and it will probably prove fatal to the army under General *Mathews*. Gen. *Mathews* is convinced, beyond all perſuaſion, that *Tippoo* will not come againſt him, and on this ſuppoſition he very imprudently acts. I left his army the other day ſo ſcattered and detached, that he cannot aſſemble it in three weeks: I know, from having experienced it, the rapidity with which *Tippoo* can move a large army and numerous artillery, and the excellent means he takes to prevent all intelligence, by having large bodies of horſe on every road in his front, ſo that I am convinced General *Mathews* will never have three days notice of his approach, and if he finds his army in its preſent ſituation, they are irretrievably ruined; and, at any rate, I am certain he is not equal to that difficult taſk, a judicious defenſive: but happen what will to his army, the Company will benefit by the recovery of the *Carnatic*."

The rank of Colonel *Macleod* and Colonel *Humberſton* advanced them over General *Mathews*, whoſe rank was Colonel in the Company's ſervice, with temporary rank of Brigadier General. On their arrival at *Bombay*, the Preſidency ordered Colonel *Macleod* to return to command the army; and in the laſt letter I received from Colonel *Humberſton*, he expreſſes himſelf as follows:

Bombay, March 2d, 1783.

"IN this ſituation, the Preſidency have thought proper to ſuſpend General *Mathews*, and have given the command of the troops to Colonel *Macleod*; they have, at the ſame time requeſted my ſervices, and, inſtead of one of their uſual epiſtles, have ſaid a great many pretty things to me. We are now going inſtantly down to the army, with a reinforcement of three bat-

talions of ſepoys; if *Tippoo* arrives before us, I am afraid our command will be ſhort; he will cut up the army by detail before they can poſſibly be aſſembled; at any rate we ſhall have warm work. The Preſidency, you ſee, have forgiven me, and graciouſly taken me into their favour; I cannot forget their leaving me 12 months without money or ſtores, and miſrepreſenting my character as an officer, to the Commander in Chief, the Preſidency of *Madras*, and the Supreme Council: as I was ignorant of the attack, I could make no defence; fortunately I had always correſponded with the *Madras* Preſidency, and concerted meaſures with them; they were as warm in my defence as the *Bombay* Preſidency in the attack; conſidering their ignorance of the true ſtate of the caſe, I have really been treated with great candour by the Supreme Council."

This gallant ſoldier did not reach his military deſtination; he was mortally wounded in an unfortunate engagement of the *Ranger* with a fleet of *Mahrattah* pi-

ſtates, commanded by *Anandrow*, on the 8th of April, 1783.

The above ſtatements of military eſtabliſhments at different periods, and the anecdotes of detached ſervices, may be ſufficient to give an idea of the neceſſity of a general plan and control in the military as well as in the civil department: the concluſion is incontrovertible; a proportion of territory equal to defray the military eſtabliſhments of the principal poſſeſſions is now under the abſolute dominion of the *Engliſh*, and may be properly called *Britiſh India*. It is impoſſible to adopt the opinions of men without aſcertaining the views by which they have been biaſed. We may read opinions from *Bombay* in 1784, and may be encouraged to remove the ſupreme government to that inſulated corner, as the beſt point from whence the military ſtrength of *Britiſh India* might enter on offenſive operations againſt its probable enemies. The Government of *Madras*, under a very military adminiſtration *, with more propriety, urged the

* Sir *A. Campbel.*

connection of the two coasts in this line more complete.

A new government might be established at *Massulipatam* to manage the northern *Circars*; and the best advanced post might be selected, whether at *Condapillee*, or other more northern station, the defence of which the allies might entrust to the *English*, would render the guarantee of *Great Britain* effective to protect them. *Cuttack*, which I cannot find to have been excepted in the *Mogul*'s grant, but to have been alienated by the *Soubah* of *Bengal* to get rid of the invasion of the *Mahrattah* chief, may probably, by negociation, be obtained from the *Berar* chief, whose interests are connected with the *English*, whether we consider his relation to the *Mahrattah* confederacy or to the *Nizam*: it need not follow that we should launch into the political schemes of aggrandizement of native princes, when the circumstances of the contracting parties render a mutual guarantee of *uti possidetis* a most desirable situation. The Governor General might execute the functions of his office

from either government without deranging the refpective eftablifhments; an extra table for the Governor General, fhould be the only neceffary expence during the occafional refidence, and the permanent feat of the Supreme Board would connect the whole fyftem of income and expenditure.

There are two fources of mifery which the Commiffioners under the prefent act fhould avert from *Britifh India*, the jurifdiction with *Englifh* forms, and the military progrefs againft natives, whom the mifmanagement of *Europeans* or *Mahomedan* fovereigns force to carry the pike. We are told *, that until Lord *Macartney* affumed the management of the *Carnatic*, "nothing was definite, nothing concluded; partial payments were received; paft claims were left for fettlement; many months were wafted in fitting out an expedition; and ftill more in performing flight fervices. During the whole period of protraction, the *Renter*, the *Amildar*, the *Fouzdar*, and the *European* commander, were reaping the

* View of the *Englifh* interefts in *India*, p. 137.

harveſt of corruption, and ſowing an after-growth of peculation. The *Polygars* are ſubtle and acute; they took advantage of ſo corrupt a ſyſtem, and notwithſtanding their internal feuds, they united againſt a common invader. They adminiſtered to the avarice of their opponent by bribes, and to his paſſion for command by procraſtination: thus the province was impaired, its cultivation failed, its manufactures diminiſhed; every new collector and commander entailed new evils, and taught the *Polygars* to conſider their *Peſhcuſh* not as a juſt tribute to their ſovereign, but as a price to purchaſe the forbearance of oppreſſors."

It would be fortunate if every commander would feel and act on the ſentiments which Colonel *Fullarton* ſo well expreſſed; but it is not on the accidental good principle of a commander that the *Polygars* ſhould depend. The *Polygar* having never experienced juſtice and moderation, if he ſhould hear that *Mahomed Iſſoof Cawn* had ſaid, " let the *Polygars* become *Zemindars*, and cultivate their own lands, inſtead of

plundering their induſtrious neighbours, then they ſhall be cheriſhed; but while their habit is idleneſs, and their buſineſs devaſtation, I will treat every one as a public enemy who wields a pike or wears the turban of a *Polygar*;" ſhould he hear that the *Engliſh* chief obſerved, on comparing the ſtate of that country with the conduct and remark of *Mahomed*, "I found that wiſdom, vigour, and integrity were never more conſpicuous in any perſon, of whatever climate or complexion;" might not the *Polygar* anſwer, "have we not fallen back from the plain, and cleared, for the ſupport of a diminiſhed race, lands which, under one protector, might afford a tribute for protection? Do we not ſee the *Pollams* of the plain deſtroyed by the impolicy of armed Collectors, which uſed to protect the peaſantry from the maſſacre of an invading enemy, and enabled them to feed the forces that protected them? Do you not witneſs the wretched inhabitants flying for protection under the walls of your fortreſs, devoted to famine, or driven in herds to inhabit and cultivate the table land of the tyrant *Hydar*? Can you approve the de-

nounced warfare against our race becaufe we protect our families against injustice? Give us the bleffing of a juft government; regulate the tribute in juft proportion to our means, and chearfully will the pike fall from our hands, and with thankfulnefs will we promote the cultivation of the country." If this wretched warfare ftill continues, and the *Britifh* arms reek with the blood of tributaries, which I know they do, I truft, for the honour of *Britifh* influence, that the fair experiment of amicable arrangement has in every inftance preceded the meafures of rigour.

It is neceffary to enter farther into the fubject of the proper conftitution of the army for *Britifh India*; the importance of draft bullocks and of cavalry is unqueftioned; the means by which *Tippoo* enfures a fupply of each appears by his regulations. The *Britifh* Government has not even afcertained in what manner the *Soubah* of *Bengal* maintained his cavalry: the weftern fide of the *Doab*, which ufed to afford pafturage to a ftud of the provinces, by the charge *Scindia* has taken of the *Mogul*,

may now raiſe the remount of an hoſtile cavalry. The idea of *Britiſh* protection of fairs or markets from the extortion of Governors and *Zemindars*, has not yet invited the horſe dealers of the interior part of *India* to conſider, as in ancient periods, the markets of the peninſula, and of the *Soubah* of *Bengal*, to be acceſſible to their trade. It has been a ſubject of diſcuſſion, whether natives are truſt worthy. The pay, the appointments, and the juſtice of *Great Britain* entitle it to be the preferable ſervice: deſertions have not been ſo frequent as they might have been expected under the difficulties of ſervice and the irregularity of pay; they have contributed little to the diſcipline of the enemy in compariſon to the immediate ſervice of the *French* and *Europeans* in *Tippoo*'s pay. The re-eſtabliſhing villages with boundary fences in the *Carnatic*, would protect the natives againſt irregular incurſions and depredation; and in the provinces the regular plan of villages might contribute to health and ſafety: a regular limited ſervice, and invalid ſettlements for the different corps, at proper ſtations, combined

with the wise regulations of a continual succession of the children of the soldiers in the sepoy battalions, will give proper and sufficient connection and attachment to the *British* service. The competitors for power, during many years, existed by the plunder of treasures, the accumulation of powerful sovereigns. The countries of *India* now are reduced to their actual annual resources, and the temptation to rival *Great Britain*, in a great degree ceases, for the acquisition of sovereignty would cost any rival *European* nation more treasure than the conquest would repay; and under a wise management, the advantages of trade might be granted and guaranteed under the protection of *Great Britain*, and become more profitable to *European* nations, than by the maintenance of independent settlements: they should be admitted to enjoy the freedom of trade on *a par* with *British* subjects, only when they renounced their pretension to sovereignty in *British India:* a regulation which now depends on *Great Britain.*

If any example from the history of the natives should be required to warn us from

unneceſſary extenſion of warfare, we might refer to the example of the *Mahrattahs*, who, on the decline of the *Mogul* empire, having enriched themſelves by depredatory excurſions in *Hindoſtan* and in the *Decan*, extended their ambition to become the ſovereigns of *India*, as *Buſſy* had foreſeen. *Bala Row*, who ſat on the *Muſnud* of the *Mahrattah* government in the *Decan*, fitted out an expedition for completing the conqueſt of *Hindoſtan*, under the ſupreme command of *Raghunaut Row*, in 1760: *Mulhar Row Hulkur*, *Junkoogee Scindia*, and other chiefs, with their forces, acted under his orders. They compelled *Ahmed Shah Durrany* to repaſs the *Attock*, and kept poſſeſſion of the country on the eaſt of the *Attock*; but the army falling in arrears, they were obliged to return to the *Decan*, and it appeared that a debt of 88 lacks was due to the army; ſo much had the expences exceeded all the collection of tribute, *peſhcuſh*, &c. On being reprimanded by the *Bhow* for bringing home debts inſtead of an increaſe of wealth, *Raghunaut Row* deſired the *Bhow* to try his own ſkill, and ſee what advantage he could

make of it. The conqueſt was ſo much the object of ambition to the *Mahrattahs*, that the *Bhow* convened the forces of the *Mahrattahs* and their tributaries, together amounting to 55,000 horſe, 15,000 foot, beſides the garriſon of *Delhi*, about 24,000 men.

The *Duranny* army conſiſted of 41,800 horſe and 38,000 infantry, with 70 or 80 pieces of cannon. The camp followers in *Indian* armies may be reckoned as three to one of the military. The conflict of this great armament, in January, 1761, terminated in the complete defeat of the *Mahrattahs*, by the battle of *Paniput*; a detailed narrative of which, tranſlated from the original of *Caſi Rajah Pundit*, who was preſent, forms an intereſting article in the Aſiatic Reſearches *.

* Aſiatic Reſearches, Vol. III. p. 91.

CHAP. XIX.

On the Confiſtancy of parliamentary Vigilance, and Aſſertion of the Rights of the Crown to the Sovereignty of Britiſh India.

FROM the peruſal of Mr. *Ruſſell's* Diſſertation on the Rights of the Company, we might conclude, that the conqueſt of *Bengal*, in 1765, tempted Parliament to infringe the rights of the Company. He expreſſes himſelf as follows: " Nor, from the firſt erection of the Company by Queen *Elizabeth*, till the accidental conqueſt of *Bengal*, had the right of the Company been called in queſtion to acquire, by any means they could deviſe, ſettlement, territory, or other property in *India* for their own benefit. It was the magnitude of that conqueſt which firſt excited public attention; and a general maxim of law, of which, perhaps, no inſtance or occaſion for its being exerted, or acted upon, had

happened for centuries, if ever, in this kingdom, was now enforced by Parliament, with a faving, however, of rights, fo as to leave the queftion open to litigation at fome future period *."

This having been nearly the late opinion of perfons high in office, and the fituation of Mr. *Ruffell*, giving to his opinion, in a degree, the fanction of official authority, I fhall fhortly revife the declared opinions of Parliament; and if, at the interval of a century, no inconfiftency or dereliction of right fhall appear; the propriety of giving to a general faving claufe of rights a conftructive extent, tantamount to an admiffion of the independant right, and of progreffively extending the claims of the Company, when the equitable decifions of Parliament fuperfeded the neceffity of queftions of fpeculative foundation and dangerous tendancy, will be more fairly confidered, than by any more general refutation which I could offer.

* Short Hiftory, p. 57.

In 1698*, "the *East-India* trade, which had been many years depending, and was looked on as so nice and difficult, that it had been referred to the King and his Council, and back again by them to the Parliament," was settled. The claims of the Old *East-India* Company, almost the same now adduced, were supported by the *Tories*; and the rights of the public were then asserted by the *Whigs*, who supported the new subscribers †, and produced the provisoes, in the King's Charter, in evidence, that the King had not granted to the extent of the Company's claims, but, on the contrary, that Parliament had resolved, in 1691, "that it was lawful for all persons to trade to the *East Indies*, unless restrained by act of Parliament; and that the King's message to the House, in 1692, plainly signified, that the concurrence of Parliament was requisite for making a complete and useful settlement of the *East-India* trade." His Majesty having commanded a Committee of his Privy

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698.

† *Anderson*'s History of Commerce, Vol. I. p. 221.

Council to prepare regulations for the trade of the Old Company, all the material particulars had been rejected by them; and his Majesty finding that what was requisite could not be perfected by his own authority alone, and that the concurrence of Parliament was requisite to make a complete and useful settlement of this trade, he had directed all the proceedings to be laid before them*; "that it was never esteemed a breach of faith, nor a derogation from the credit of the *Great Seal*, nor from the honour of our Kings, to have their patents annulled by Parliament, when it appeared that such grants were either unprofitable or contrary to the common rights of the subject; neither did any Kings think themselves bound, in honour or conscience, to refuse passing an act of Parliament for annulling such grants: that, moreover, Kings having often been deceived in such grants, they have been frequently annulled by the ordinary course of law." In pursuance of these, among other reasonings, the House came to 9

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698.

resolutions, which were first tendered to the Old Company *, but were rejected by them; and an act was then passed in favour of the general society of traders to the *East Indies*; notwithstanding, the "reasonable doubt of the Protesting Lords †, whether the separate trade, allowed in this bill, concurrent with a joint stock, may not prove so inconsistent as to discourage the subscription from ever coming to a million." The regulations were so much approved by the public, that two million sterling were subscribed in three days. Mr. *Anderson* drew some "important reflections on this law, and on the blessings of the free constitution since the establishment of King *William*, and the ever-excellent law, called the Declaration of Rights ‡." I shall only farther observe, that, in my private opinion, the resolutions, on which that act was founded, appear politic and just, and to be more adequate to the encouragement of adventure, than the private agency of the

* Parliamentary Debates, 1698.

† Lords' Protest, July 1, 1698.

‡ *Anderson*'s History of Commerce, Vol. I. p. 223.

Company to the privilege of private trade, by the present act; and the 5 *per cent.* payable to the Company, under the regulations of the act of 1698 *, to be more eligible than the 3 *per cent.* duty subject to the limitations of the act of 1793 †.

The present act has extended to private persons the benefit of the *East-India* trade, under regulations consistent with those of the act of King *William*: wherefore, the regulations, by that act affecting the separate traders, now apply to the private traders. The combined adventurers being subject to the legal control of the commis-

* 9 and 10 *Will.* III., c. 44, sec. 69, 76. 6 *Anne*, c. 3. 5 *Geo.* I., c. 21, sec. 9. 7 *Geo.* I., c. 21, sec. 9.

† Vide page 117.

N. B. Examine these statutes, as well as the abstract, of the present act, which I consider to be, in general, correct, it having been printed correctly from one of the copies, circulated by the Board of Control among the Peers of Parliament, after the bill had passed the Commons. Since I saw Mr. *Russell's* Second Edition, I suppose it to be compiled by the *Solicitor* of the *Board* of *Control*, for he also has given it as an appendix to that Edition of his *Short History* of the *East-India* Company.

fioners each year, the important claufe in the act, 1698, I fuppofe to be in full force: it is as follows:

* "That no company, or particular perfon or perfons, who fhall have a right, in purfuance of this act, to trade to the *Eaft Indies*, or other parts within the limits aforefaid, fhall be allowed to trade thither until fufficient fecurity be firft given, that fuch company, or particular perfons, fhall caufe all the goods, &c., in any fhip or fhips whatfoever, bound from the *Eaft Indies*, to be brought, without breaking bulk, to fome port of *England* or *Wales*, and there be unladen and put on land; and in cafe there fhall be difficulty in the acceptance of fuch fecurity, it fhall, and may, be determined by the Lord Chief Baron, or Barons of the Coif of the Exchequer, or any of them, according to his or their beft judgement and difcretion; and that all goods or marchandize, fo imported from the *Eaft Indies* into *England* or *Wales*, fhall be fold openly and publicly, by inch of

* 9 and 10 *William* III. fec. 79.

candle, upon their refpective accounts; and not otherwife, upon pain, that the fame fhall be forfeited and loft; one moiety thereof to his Majefty, and the other moiety to any perfon or perfons that will feife and fue for the fame, by action of bill, plaint, or information, as aforefaid."

It will not be neceffary to enter farther on the principle and regulations of the act, 1698. I have already confidered curforily the principle of the act, 1793, relative to trade, in the preceding pages *. The Old Company fubfcribed largely to the new fund, and foon coalefced with the New Company; and by act of Parliament were formed into the Company of united merchants, trading exclufively on a joint ftock, and on the united privileges of the two charters.

The proceedings of Parliament, connected with the period, particularly examined in the preceding pages, were as follow:

* Introduction, p. xli.

So early as 1757, the Company petitioned the *King* to be permitted to hold and enjoy, ſubject to his Majeſty's Sovereignty therein, all fortreſſes, diſtricts, and territories, as they had already acquired, or might acquire from any nation, ſtate, or people, by treaty, grant, or conqueſt.

His Majeſty granted the *booty* and *plunder*; and he was adviſed by his Attorney and Solicitor General, the late Chancellor *Yorke*, and the preſent Earl *Camden*, "that it is not warranted by precedent, nor agreeable to ſound policy, nor to the *tenor of the charter*, which have been laid before us, to make ſuch general grant, not only of paſt, but of future contingent conqueſts, made upon any power, *European* or *Indian*, to a trading company *."

The firſt act for appropriating *territorial revenues* of *India*, was in 1766. It was conſidered as a new kind of money bill, not being founded upon any reſolutions of

* Mr. *Ruſſell's* Short Hiſtory, p. 11. Appendix to Vol. I. *Bolt's* Hiſtory for the Report and Petition.

the Committees of ſupply, or of ways and means*: whereby it avoided the objection ſtated in the ſecond article of the Lords' proteſts, in 1698, that the *Eaſt-India* ſubſcription had been introduced as a ſupply of two millions, by which the Commons included the regulation of the *Eaſt-India* trade, to which the Lords were not denied to have an equal right of judgement and freedom of vote, with the privileges claimed by the Commons, as to ſupply and monied bills †. The *Eaſt-India* buſineſs was introduced into the Houſe on November 25, 1765. The acts of 9 and 10, King *William* III. c. 24., and 7, *George* I. c. 21. were, on motion, read to the Houſe, and a committee of the whole Houſe appointed to ſit on that day fortnight; this inquiry gave riſe to the new money bill. The Committee had proceeded in their inquiry, when, at laſt, on the 20th of May, 1766, the *Eaſt-India* Company preſented a petition, praying the aid of Parliament to give powers to control their ſervants, and to

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XX. p. 279.

† Lords' Proteſts, July 1, 1698.

apply the territorial revenues to the difcharge of the civil and military eftablifhments, charges of fortifications, buildings, and repairs ; and to fanction an agreement in behalf of the ftate, viz. 400,000 out of the profits of their trade, and the refidue of the territorial revenue ; the net furplus to be divided with the public ; the agreement to take place from February, 1767, and 3 laft years, " provided the *Dewannee* of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Oriffa*, fhall remain in the Company's hands." The Company introduced their petition to Parliament, not as claimants of territory, but as a commercial company, their proper defcription in Parliament ; they prayed not only leave to extend their commerce, by invefting the landed revenue in the produce of the country, and to be protected againft their own fervants by reftrictions againft fmuggling, but alfo requefted that inland duties of *Great Britain* be modified to give every advantage to a commerce, in which the public, not only individually, but collectively, as a nation, would, under fuch agreement, participate.

The Houfe came to four refolutions on the eight propofitions of the Company.

1. That it would be of mutual benefit to the public and the *Eaft-India* Company, " that a temporal agreement be made, in regard to the territorial revenues lately obtained in *India*.

2. That the agreement continue for 3 years from February 1, 1767.

3. " That the faid acquifitions and revenues do remain in poffeffion of the Company during the continuance of fuch agreement, and that the Company do pay the public annually, during the faid term, the fum of 400,000l."

4. That it will be neceffary, for the purpofe of extending the trade, to grant drawbacks, &c.

The three firft refolutions were adopted nem. con., and a bill was ordered to be brought in upon them; the fourth was referred to a Committee of Ways and Means.

This queſtion was fully diſcuſſed in Parliament the 9th of March, 1773*; Lord *North* preſented papers containing letters between Mr. Secretary *Pitt* and Monſ. *Buſſy*, to explain the ſentiments of the *Britiſh* and *French* Courts reſpecting the territorial acquiſitions in *India*. Mr. *Dowdeſwell* produced an extract of a foreign diſpatch, from which he argued, that, as far as the ſentiments of the Crown could be collected, the Company was underſtood to have excluſive right to the territories it poſſeſſed, whether acquired by conqueſt or otherwiſe. The Houſe, without a diviſion, adopted the motion to *aid* and *control* the Company.

The queſtion of the Company's right was again debated the 23d of March, when Lord *North* moved, that the dividends of the Company ſhould be limited to 8 *per cent.* until the participation between the public and the Company ſhould take place. Mr. *Ruſſell*'s argument was then adduced againſt the right of the ſtate generally, that

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 241.

the Company's territorial poſſeſſions were held by *grant under office*, and not by conqueſt*; and this Mr. *Burke* contended, and went ſo far as to ſay, that no lawyer had ventured poſitively to aſſert that, even had they been all gained by conqueſt, the Crown had a right to them; which Sir *Fletcher Norton* denied, and read to the Houſe three opinions, expreſsly affirming the right of the Crown to the *Eaſt-India* Company's territorial poſſeſſions: and he alſo adduced his own opinion in ſupport of the motion. On the 5th of April, Lord *North* informed the Houſe that, in anſwer to the petition of the *Eaſt-India* Company, the King left the ſole determination to the Houſe of Commons; and he moved the propoſition to let the territorial acquiſitions remain in the poſſeſſion of the Company for a limited time, to reduce the Company's debt to £.1,500,000, and then three fourth of the net ſurplus of the revenue to be paid into the Exchequer, and one fourth to diſcharge the contingent

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 255.

exigences of the Company*, which paſſed; and on the 10th of April the Houſe came to three diſtinct reſolutions:

1. That all acquiſitions made under the influence of military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, do of right belong to the ſtate.

2. That to appropriate acquiſitions, acquired under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, to private uſe, is illegal.

3. That great ſums of money have been obtained by ſuch means from the ſovereign Princes in *India*.

The third reſolution, leading to condemnation of the Company's ſervants, occaſioned a debate; but the three reſolutions paſſed.

On the 19th of April, a reſolution againſt Lord *Clive* revived the debate; the Solici-

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 261.

tor General, the prefent Lord Chancellor, *Loughborough*, very ably and honourably refifted the conviction of refpectable men, on the refolution of the Select Committee, appointed to examine and report the ftate of the *Eaft-India* Company's affairs, and not to judge delinquents. Thofe who heard Lord *Clive*'s fpeech on that occafion, felt the power of that fpecies of oratory which is the effufion of a dignified mind on a critical occafion: the Houfe unanimoufly voted a refolution teftifying their acknowledgement of the great and meritorious fervices of Lord *Clive*.

Mr. *Ruffell*, not fatisfied with one equitable principle and moderate rule of participation, continued, from 1766 to 1793, by different acts; when the act of this year was under confideration, as an *Eaft-India* proprietor, and foon after the paffing of the act, in his own perfon refpectable in private and official character, maintained diftinctions exploded in the laft century, refting much on the faid opinion of the year 1757, " that the property of the foil may be vefted in the Company by *Indian*

grants;" and ſeems to forget the end of the ſentence, " ſubject only to your Majeſty's right of ſovereignty over the ſettlements as *Engliſh ſettlements*:" and he ſeems to have overlooked the proceeding in Parliament, though he quotes part of the reſolution of the Houſe of Commons in 1773. I could not more attentively to Mr. *Ruſſell* purſue this diſcuſſion and controvert his data, than by adducing parliamentary opinions; and the degree of importance I annex to the inveſtigation, ariſes from my conviction that the control of Parliament will be adequate to its object, if it will not ſuffer the conſtitutional rights of the ſovereign to be eluded by nominal government and fictitious titles, or by political veils continued beyond the period of political neceſſity; and that the rights and property of the ſubject in *Britiſh India* will continue to be violated, and remain inſecure, until the rights of the Crown and of the public are defined, avowed, and aſſerted.

Various acts of Parliament have continued, in principle and ſubſtance, this equitable

modification for the management of *India*, and for the participation of its reſources to the advancement of the political and commercial intereſts of *Great Britain*, to the preſent year. Great as the conteſts were in 1783 and 4, on the final ſettlement of an effective control, the opinion of both parties coincided in the neceſſity of a ſtrong reſponſible government; and notwithſtanding Mr. *Fox*'s bills were made the oſtenſible objects of attack, by which the coalition adminiſtration was overturned, the bills propoſed by Mr. *Pitt* did not omit any eſſential principle of ſtrong and effective control; although they were modified and applied in a judicious manner, to avoid the popular prejudices and alarms which had been excited.

The bill propoſed by Mr. *Fox*, for the better government of the territorial poſſeſſions and dependencies in *India*, contained expreſs clauſes to protect the natives; they ſtruck directly at great and marked practices of oppreſſion, and would have prevented their continuance or repetition, under the ſame modifications in which the

abuſe had appeared flagrant on the records of Parliament; the rights of the ſtate, and of the ſubject, however, were not ſufficiently aſcertained to be accurately defined; and it is obvious how eaſy and infinite the evaſions would have continued in *India*, until regulations had been made critically accurate. In this point of view, therefore, the rights of the natives ought to have acquired certain and equitable definition ſooner under Mr. *Pitt*'s bill than by the operation of Mr. *Fox*'s bill; becauſe it did not proceed to lay down the abſolute rule on incorrect documents, but preſcribed accurate inveſtigation on the ſpot, previous to the declaration of the rights of perſons, or the remedy for abuſes. I cannot explain the ſingular concurrence of two plans and inveſtigations, before mentioned*, to give effect to Mr. *Pitt*'s bill, in any other manner than that enacting clauſes of Mr. *Fox*'s bill, providing againſt known and acknowledged oppreſſion, gained due preference in the then inexperienced Board of Control, to the inveſtigations of a new Governor

* Vide page 384.

General and of his *European Serishtadar*; and the sanction of that bill was no inconsiderable support to the opinion which Mr. *Francis* had maintained on the subject of the settlement of *India*. It is therefore not paradoxical to say, that both the bills of Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Fox* have been applied to *British India*; if they had not, the opinions of Mr. *Shore* and of Mr. *Rouse* could not have coincided with Mr. *Francis*. But the comparative statement of these bills by Mr. *Sheridan* *, and an accurate review of the bills themselves †, will shew the power in both bills nearly equal; and that so far as the definition of personal rights, and the relation of natives to the *British* Government were enacted by Mr. *Fox*'s bill, they have been adopted, and found erroneous. But it must also be remembered that a definition of persons is a matter of fact, and not of opinion, and that the fact has been so artificially involved in

* Comparative Statement of the two Bills, &c. with explanatory observations by *R. B. Sheridan*, Esq. *Debrett*, 1788.

† Vide Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXX. p. 316, copies of Mr. *Fox* and Mr. *Pitt*'s *East-India* Bills.

mystery, that until the *Moccurrery* plan had failed, even the investigation and assertion of the *Serishtadar*, supported by the native records of *India*, were disregarded, and the period of settling a permanent system, to meet the expiration of the Company's charter, arrived before it was in the power of the King's Ministers to lay before Parliament an accurate detail of a system, in all its parts, applicable to *British India*, or sufficiently correct to be recommended for its internal government, under the sanction of Parliament; and it still requires much political sagacity to guess the period when it will be safe and prudent to guarantee the permanency of internal *British* administration: but Parliament should recollect how imperfect even the charter of the natives of *India* appears on the statutes*; without serious examination it cannot guarrantee nor confirm the measures of the Commissioners to ascertain and define the rights and customs of the natives. I hope the present act will prove the æra of intelligible system: the King's

* Vide page 135.

commiſſion extended to the army in *India*; ſpecie coined in the King of *England*'s name ſhould be ſanctioned by Parliament, and announced by the *King*'s *Britiſh India*; and to *India* in general; that it may be known, from the higheſt executive authority, that the honour of the Crown and Parliament of *Great Britain* guarantee a juſt adminiſtration of the Company in its ſeveral governments; and that all ſovereigns, the allies, and other chiefs and natives, the ſubjects to *Britiſh India*, who, by ſubſidy or tribute, ſhall diſcharge their ſtipulations with good faith to the *Britiſh* Government, ſhall be protected in their lives, properties, cuſtoms, and religion, not only againſt *Britiſh*, but native tyranny and oppreſſion, to the utmoſt extent which a ſincere and well-intentioned direction of the legiſlative and executive authority of *Great Britain* ſhall be able to enforce.

CHAP. XX.

On the last provincial Reform in India.

AN extract from a *Calcutta* Gazette, of Friday, the 29th of March, 1793, has just announced an entire new plan of revenue collection and judicature, to take place in the new *Bengalese* year, beginning in *April* last.

Provincial Courts of Appeal are established in the following cities;

At *Moorshedabad*,	in each	3 Judges,
At *Dacca*,		1 Register,
At *Patna*,		1 Assistant.

Exclusive of one city Judge and one Register. At *Calcutta* a fourth Court of Appeal independent of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

Twenty-three collections, or districts, are to form the revenue division of the *Bengal* provinces; in each, one Collector,

one Judge, and one Regiſter of the *Killah* Court; and in ſix of the collections an aſſiſtant Collector is allowed.

The Collector, with a fixed ſalary, is to collect.

The Judge, with a ſalary and commiſſion on the collection of the revenues of the diſtrict, is to adminiſter juſtice in the *Kutcherry*, *Fougedarry*, and *Adaulet* Courts.

Appeals from the *Killah* Courts are open to the *City* Courts, in all caſes whatſoever; and appeals from the *City* Courts to the Governor General in council are allowed in all caſes exceeding 500 rupees.

Beſides this, I hear that every 20 miles ſquare is to form a diſtrict, in which natives, with a ſalary, are to be appointed to preſide over the police of the diſtrict, at the charge of the natives.

When the minute of Marquis *Cornwallis*, and farther particulars ſhall arrive,

the meafure may be better underftood: I only give the above outline of it as a fupplement to what I before ftated *. Inftead of the amended code in 1793, which I confidered to be inevitable, a complete new official arrangement has appeared; it opens a dawn of hope that a fyftem of juft adminiftration will arife in *Britifh India*, but it requires not only the good intention, but the high authority, of Lord *Cornwallis* to correct and eftablifh it. If other modern incumbrances of *Britifh* management are fairly removed, and native rights equitably defined, a modification of the prefent plan may become adequate to the protection of the natives and to the improvement of the revenue; but if this laudable and bold meafure, which, unfortunately, will almoft bear date with the departure of Lord *Cornwallis*, is meant to go no farther than to feparate the collection from the judicial procefs in revenue caufes, leaving the native civil and criminal jurifdiction, and the Supreme Court of Judicature, in vigour, it is eafy to forefee that ba-

* Vide page 448.

lances, with multiplied and complex procefs, will continue, and that the Collectors will deduce, plaufibly and truely, as far as relates to the revenue, the new labyrinth of confufion to arife from their lofs of power.

It will hardly efcape Lord *Cornwallis*'s obfervation, when he reflects on Sir *John Shore*'s minute in 1789, and the 77,000 caufes which were undecided in December, 1791 *, that a facred regifter of lands, afcertained by actual meafurement, fuch as I have fhewn the *Canongoe* regifter to have been, of itfelf will prove the fimpleft evidence of rights; and that a well-digefted code of civil and criminal judicature, will render the native *Fougedarry*, *Adaulet*, and *Kutcherry* jurifdiction fimple and intelligible. Whether the divifions are called diftricts or *Chucklahs*, or any other name, confidering how very great a proportion of the native caufes are connected with the revenue, it may alfo occur to Lord *Cornwallis* that the above-ftated eftablifhment

* Vide page 447.

might be applied, and anſwer all the purpoſes of good government. In towns a police office muſt be vigorous, in proportion to the complicated irregularity of luxury and mixed population; but I need not ſpeculate ſo far, for, I venture to predict, if the new arrrangement is not perfected by Lord *Cornwallis*, or by *as powerful* and *honeſt* hands, this fair beginning will vaniſh; in which caſe, he muſt be a bold man who will again begin freſh experiments of a neceſſary practical reform.

If the various points of view in which I have ſhewn the neceſſity of aſcertaining the real circumſtances and relation of the natives to their *Britiſh* Sovereign may appear to be ſuperſeded by this late reform, I will once more attempt to ſhew that, notwithſtanding the revenue department, at this time diſtinct in its collection from its judicial function, will become, in fact and in form, more correct, it will not render the diſtricts ſufficiently compact, nor make the conſtant reference and appeal of the ſubject to the Magiſtrate in his *Kutcherry*, *Fougedarry*, and *Adaulet* juriſ-

diction, matter of accommodation to the *Reyuts*, if they are to have any rights; nor to *Zemindars*, if they are to be rendered opulent by devoting the *Pottah*-holder or *Reyut* to absolute vassalage. The neglect of actual measurement of lands, of registry, and of equitable participation of the crops, bears equal date with the *British* revenue administration, and will still exist; and the definition of persons and things are still erroneous and impolitic.

In 1766, the *Bengal* Government informed the Directors, " our proceedings point out to you the increase of your rents issuing from the *Calcutta lands*, and the prospect we have of rating them still higher, without exaction or oppression. It evidently appears to us that great frauds were formerly committed in these collections; with a view of correcting which, we have determined that the leases granted to the present farmers shall expire on the 1st of September next; by that time we hope to ascertain the value exactly, at least we shall then silence the clamour of the inhabitants against what they deem a *mo*-

nopoly, by univerfally *diffufing* and *extending* the benefit arifing from the poffeffion of lands among the moft fubftantial and refpectable *Banyans* and *black merchants* living under your protection *."

In confequence of this determination, the ancient land-holders were difplaced to make way for a new clafs of renters, and the private fpeculations of the Company's fervants, through the medium of their *Banyans*, extended to the produce of the land. The calamities of a famine were haftened by the ftored grain of private men, unlike the granaries of the *Hindoos*, not being at the difpofal of a wife adminiftration to avert or foften the tropical calamities occafionally incident to the country. The *Shroffs* and *Banyans* derived their profit from public diftrefs; and it does not appear that the profits of their *Chriftian* principals were relinquifhed to the call of humanity.

* Reports, Vol. I. Appendix, No. 46. Letter from Select Committee, *Fort William*, Jan. 31, 1766.

With the famine of the year 1770 the *farming* ſyſtem under native agency cloſed; the *ſubſidiary* ſyſtem under *Britiſh* agency did not revert to equitable management, nor to any better protection of the rights of the tenantry, the *Reyûts*, nor of the *Zemindars*.

Official reports, taken by contraſting the *Bengal* provinces, for many years paſt free from the devaſtations of fire and the ſword, with the *Carnatic*, the ſcene of continued warfare, or with the neighbouring ſtates, the ſcene of anarchy and warfare incident to unſettled governments, have been the foundation of aſſertions*, "that *Britiſh India* is in a ſtate of proſperity unknown to it under the moſt wiſe and politic of its ancient ſovereigns." And Mr. *Francis*, on many occaſions, has referred to a letter from Lord *Cornwallis*†, which plainly deſcribes, in different terms, the ſtate of the provinces.

* Mr. *Dundas*.

† Letter from Earl *Cornwallis* to the Directors, dated Auguſt 2, 1789; reprinted as an Appendix to Mr. *Francis'* Letter to Lord *North*. *Debrett*, 1793.

" Independent of all other confiderations, I can affure you that it will be of the utmoft importance, for promoting the folid interefts of the Company, that the principal land-holders and traders in the interior parts of the country fhould be *reftored* to fuch circumftances, as to enable them to fupport their families with decency, and to give a liberal education to their children, according to the cuftoms of their refpective cafts and religions, that a regular gradation of ranks may be fupported, which is no where more neceffary than in this country, for preferving order in civil fociety.

" I am forry to be obliged to fay, that *agriculture* and *commerce* has for many years been gradually declining; and that at prefent, excepting the clafs of *Shroffs* and *Banyans*, who refide almoft entirely in great towns, the inhabitants of thefe provinces *were advancing haftily to a general ftate of poverty and wretchednefs*. In this defcription I muft even include almoft every *Zemindar* in the Company's territories, which, though it may have been

partly occasioned by their own indolence and extravagance, I am afraid must also be, in a great measure, attributed to the defects of our former system of management."

I do not suppose Mr. *Francis* brought forward this opinion of Lord *Cornwallis*'s to establish a conclusion corresponding to that which I deduce from it. I not only consider the representation of Lord *Cornwallis* to be the fact, but to be the natural inevitable consequence of the financial plans of 1766, which, under different names and modifications, have continued to this day, and which Mr. *Francis*'s plan of settlement, in as great a degree as Sir *John Shore*'s system, tended to perpetuate; the error has been general, but delinquency does not attach to error. It cannot be doubted Lord *Cornwallis* intended to *restore* the *old* landholders to comfort and competency, and to bring back opulence by protecting increasing property.

The consultations of Sir *John Shore* and Mr. *Law* to execute these beneficent pur-

poſes in the beſt manner which they deemed practicable, conſiſtently with Mr. *Francis*'s principle of ſettlement, viz. without actual meaſurement, and accurate or equalized aſſeſſment, may be collected from the explanation of the *Mocurrery* plan *. "If earthquakes or inundation, or *miſtaken* aſſeſſment, render the village inadequate to bear the land tax, the *proprietor* ſhould be at liberty to reſign." "Numerous *rich men* will take villages with even a temporary loſs, upon the proſpect of recovery by improvement †." The indifference of the revenue deparment of Government to the change of proprietors ‡ in 1789; the propoſed permanence of unequal aſſeſſment and dereliction of *Reyuts* to abſolute dependence on *Zemindars* in 1776, are only modifications of the avowed ſyſtem of 1766; and I am ſure it is very far from my intention to inſinuate that any of theſe plans were propoſed as ſcourges to the country: I only plead in behalf of

* Sketch of late Arrangements. Mr. *Shore*'s Queſtions and Mr. *Law*'s Anſwers, Feb. 5, 1789, p. 95.

† Ibid. p. 96.

‡ Ibid. p. 91.

the *Zemindars* and *Reyuts*, that theſe *Britiſh* ſyſtems were founded on error, and have a direct tendency to deſtroy the rights of different orders of natives, the preſervation of which is eſſential to the proſperity of *Britiſh India*; and until their rights and property are protected, the only rich natives will be the *Shroffs* and *Banyans*.

The eſtabliſhment of my principle is ſo far from reſting on new grounds, that its confirmation may be deduced from hiſtory: the *Romans* bore relation to *Aſia Minor* and *Egypt*, as the *Engliſh* do to *Britiſh India*. The *Jews* were to the *Roman* conquerors in the preciſe relation which the *Hindoos* ſhould be to the *Britiſh*. *Alexandria* had been ſelected by the *Macedonian* conqueror as the beſt ſcite for a new *Emporium* to his extended dominions; and the *Romans*, in their turn, joined it to their empire.

Adrian, in a letter to *Servianus*, obſerves, that *Alexandria** was inhabited by *Jews*,

* Civitas opulenta dives fœcunda, in qua nemo vivat otioſus. Alii vitrum conflant, ab aliis charta con-

Samaritans, *Christians*, and worshippers of the *Egyptian* deities; and that all these people, notwithstanding the diversity of their opinions and their religious squabbles, in reality, worshiped only one God, and "that God was money *." Passing over the particulars of similitude, I shall state, from *Josephus*, the causes by which the justice and good intention of *Roman* administration failed in their effect. He informs us, that the *Ptolomies*, as well as the *Romans*, depended much on the management of the *Alexandrian Jews*, who had the entire charge of the river; and that the wisest administration of grain in *Rome* had been transferred from *Syria* and *Alexandria*." He says, "if *Antiochus* plundered the tem-

ficitur: alii linyphiones sunt: omnes certe cujuscunque artis, et videntur et habentur. Podagrosi quod agant habent; habent cæci quod faciant: ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt. Unus illis deus est, hunc Christiani, hunc Judæi, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes: et utinam esset morata civitas, digna profecto sui profunditate, quæ pro sui magnitudine, totius Ægypti teneat principatum. Huic ego cuncta concessi, vetera privilegia reddidi, nova sic addidi ut præsenti gratias agerent. *Flavii Vospisci* Saturninus, p. 723.

* *Jortin.*

ple when in friendship with us, his want of money ought not to excite ridicule, the cloak by which his friends attempt to hide the impiety *." If in one instance "*Germanicus* was unable to measure out grain amply to his army, it was the fault of the season, and not of the *Jews*." In another place *Josephus* explains the causes of sedition in that city. "The *Egyptians* crowding into *Alexandria* occasioned its ruin; the *Jews* retained their customs; but the *Roman* people, following the *Egyptian* morals, adopted their enmities and prejudices; for the *Romans* had neither the constancy nor steadiness of the *Macedonians*, nor the prudence of the *Greeks* †." However, to do justice to the *Romans*, and in answer to *Appion*'s reproach, that the *Jews* did not erect *statues* to the *Roman* Emperors, *Josephus* observes, "so far from being a subject of reproach, it should be matter of praise, that the *Romans*, having conquered us, did not oblige us to desert the laws of our country, but accepted such honours as can be piously and lawfully offered. We

* *Josephus*, p. 1369.

† Contrast with *Carthaginians*, *Polyb.* lib. x. 33.

make sacrifices for the *Roman* Emperors and the *Roman* people at the public expence, though, for any of our nation, we do not offer victims *."

The destruction of the *Alexandrian* library fifteen years after *Syria* became a *Roman* province, was a serious loss to literature; and its second conflagration, 688 years afterward, will always be considered as irreparable: but, exclusive of the erudition inveloped in the *Sanscrit*, we may even yet hope to regain, by judicious researches in the *East*, many regretted works of enlightened periods.

Notwithstanding *Mahomed*, about A. D. 612, conciliated the *Christians* from policy, he affected to be the ignorant prophet † among the tribes of *Arabs* whom he converted. There was a species of poetry peculiar to these people, yet *Omar* destroyed without remorse every vestige of

* *Josephus*, page 1368.

† The untaught Prophet, ignorant as he came from his mother. *Koran Sura*. 7.

learning and philosophy to cover the imposture; when solicited to spare the library of *Alexandria*, he said, if these writings are contrary to the doctrines of the *Koran* they are heretical, and ought to be burned; if they correspond with it they are superfluous, and he consigned them to fire.

Letters continued to suffer persecution after the *Mahomedan* government became monarchical and the family of *Ommiyah* prevailed; but when the *Abbasids* dethroned them, and distinguished themselves by the black garment, the *Fatamites* retained the white vest, and esteemed them heretics. Even in the reign of the *Abbasid Kalifs*, A. D. 780, great respect was paid to learned *Christians* who were skilled in the *Arabesque*, and to the *Arabs* who were versed in the old poets before *Mahomed*. One of the ancient bards is said to have been able to repeat 100,000 verses*: and the learned *Renaudot* says, the rules by which they were made, are as hard as the *Greek* and *Latin*, which they seem un-

* *Jafar*, son of *Abdullah*, ob. A. D. 384. *Abulfeda*, Hist. *Ægypt.*

acquainted with *; and the *Abbaſid* race of *Kaliſs* ordered moſt of the *Greek* books to be tranſlated into *Arabic*, the benefit of which was not limited to the *Arabs*. The *Jews* of *Spain* in general knew *Arabic*, and many aſtronomical books were tranſlated into *Hebrew*. The *Ilakanian* tables, ordered to be made by *Ulug Beig* at *Samarcund*, ſhew alſo the degree in which the *Mahomedan Tartars* had benefited: certain it is, that we had no aſtronomical tables in *Europe* before thoſe which *Alfonzo*, King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, ordered to be drawn up in the year 1270, for which he employed ſome learned *Jews* †. And when we conſider that *Edward* I., the *Engliſh Juſtinian*, regulated the *Engliſh* ſtandards of length and weight on *Eaſtern* precedent, having ſerved in the wars of the *Eaſt*, the adoption of the *Eaſtern* ſtandards in *England* is more probably at firſt hand, than in imitation of the *Caſtalian*, when he viſited *Spain*, ‡. The policy of encouraging agri-

* Diſſertation on the Accounts of *India* and *China* of two *Mahomedan* Travellers in the 9th century, p. 255.

† Ibid. p. 222.

‡ Biſhop *Hooper*'s Inquiry into ancient Meaſures, p. 16.

culture ſeems to have been impreſſed on *St. Louis* of *France*; for on his return from the Holy Land, to repair the misfortunes occaſioned to his country by his abſence, he ordained that no interruption ſhould be given to the exportation of corn, wine, &c.* an ordinance infinitely more wiſe and adequate to its object than thoſe of ſubſequent reigns. The calculations of M. *Vauban* ſuppoſed the extent of *France* 30,000 ſquare leagues, and the cultivated land 10,000 ſquare leagues, of which 7,500 in grain, each producing 2,625 *ſeptiers*†, for bread, ſeed corn deducted, would feed 31,240,000 inhabitants, at three *ſeptiers*† to each perſon: later calculations ſtate that, in 1621, *French* corn, in price and quality, defied competition in the *Engliſh* market, and was ſold in *France* at eighteen livres, preſent money; and the produce then is eſtimated to have been ſeventy millions of *ſeptiers*; and the population of *France* alſo to have been infinitely greater than at preſent. The actual produce of

* Ordinance, Dec. 1254.

† *Septier*, equal to 240 pounds weight.

grain in *France* is eſtimated at forty-five millions* of *Septiers at* 17 *liv.* 8 *ſols*; and the period of 1748, 9, and 50, during which *France* imported from *England*, on an average, 1,400 *muids* † each year, the amount compared to the conſumption was conſidered as a drop of water in a pond ‡; therefore, injudicious regulation, anarchy, or centrical commotions, which interrupt the cultivation of *France*, and its free internal circulation, will diſtreſs them more than ſurrounding warfare. The wiſe regulation of *Great Britain* to open and ſhut its ports when grain riſes or falls in the market to fair ſpecified prices, enſures free ſale and reaſonable profit in the ſeaſons of greateſt abundance, which has, and, I hope, will long counteract the unreaſonable ſpeculation of theoriſts, who require that grain ſhould recompence the huſbandman, by an advance of price in proportion as the articles of luxury riſe by the influx of riches, without taking to account that the

* Encyclopedie, dernier edition, art. *Bled.*

† One *Muid*, equal to twelve *ſeptiers*.

‡ Eſſais ſur la Police des Grains.

exclusion of foreign corn, beyond a rule of indispensible policy and necessity, would annihilate the reciprocity essential to commerce, and would reduce the cultivation of the country to its consumption, and occasion the extremes of fluctuation in price; very low prices with abundant crops, and very high prices with bad crops, which never can produce an average favourable to agriculture. We know that the riches of *Lydia* and *Persia* did not vary the standard prices of corn; when the *Romans* were at the extent of their excesses of folly and extravagance corn was very cheap*. The riches of *Delhi*, which enabled *Nadir Shah* to carry away 120 millions sterling, did not raise the price of grain in the *Bengal* provinces; and humanity dictates the same policy for *British India:* for whenever riches, bad administration, warfare, or over-grown manufactures of luxury from foreign materials, do not leave hands and capital for the cultivation of land, they check agriculture and national industry; and by whatever means industry diminishes,

* *Tacitus*, Ann. lib. 15.

population will decreaſe, and the prices of proviſions muſt riſe in a proportional degree. The ſtory of *Pythopolis* *, the *Lydian*, might inſtruct the modern nations, whoſe idleneſs begets poverty among ſhip loads of ſpecie; therefore, as in the eleventh and twelfth century we ourſelves were confirmed in ſound policy, from the gleanings of Eaſtern policy and literature, as the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and the people of *Iſrael* had been before us, we ought not to heſitate in admitting that the experience and ſyſtem of the *Hindoos* is beſt ſuited to their own internal government. If we muſt indulge in theory, with much ſafety we might ſuggeſt a ſerious hope, that the reſult of a judicious ſettlement of *India* may become an equitable rule of collecting the dues of the *Engliſh* Church, without violating its rights, property, or prejudices; for if, according to the juſt principle of *Akbar*, *Hindoo* collections are made on a ten-years ſettlement, the *corn rent*, as eſtabliſhed by ſome college leaſes, on ſimilar principle, being made general throughout

* *Polyaeni* Stratag. lib. 8, c. 42.

England and *Wales*, with a ſtipulation that either the church or the pariſh ſhall have the right to demand a freſh valuation and agreement every fourteen or twenty-one years; the church might be enabled to aſcertain its income, and make the beſt application and diſtribution of its funds for the advancement of religion, morality, and learning, without farther encroaching on lay lands, by extending the operation of Queen *Anne*'s bounty; conſequently, not only every jealouſy of the church, but the ever exiſting temporal diſſentions, leading to ſpiritual ſchiſm, which alienate the clergy from their pariſhoners, would vaniſh. I cannot give a better illuſtration of the excellence of native *Hindoo* management, than by annexing two tables of village accounts, which Colonel *John Murray* obligingly tranſmitted to me from *India* five years ago; the additional columns are of his ſuggeſtion, to ſhew how eaſily an official return might be made of the actual produce and population of the whole of *Britiſh India*, only by eſtabliſhing confidence, and by taking advantage of forms now in uſe in the villages of the *Hindoos*.

TRANSLATE OF A FORM NOW IN COMMON USE.

An ACCOUNT of the Grain in the Ground ſituated in the Village of *Mooraudpore*, in the *Pergunnah* of *Rehumabada Tuppa Cureemabad*, *Circar Johoorabad*, under the *Subah* of *Hyderabad*, in the Year of the King's Reign 1196; of which Village *Sheek Rumzan Ali* is *Ameen* or Overſeer; *Huriperſaud*, Arbitrator; *Peero* and others, Ground Meaſurers; and *Noor Mahomed*, Grain Appraiſer.

In the harveſt month, called *Rubiab*, Wheat, Barley, &c., grow.

Names of the Tenants or *Reyuts*.	Number of perſons in the family of each *Reyut*.	Length of the ground occupied by each.		Breadth of the ſaid ground.		Calculation of the contents of the ſaid breadth and length called *Cath*.		Deduct for the particular reaſons ſpecified.		Ballance, ground paying rent.		Grain produced.		Grain deducted as an caſe to the *Reyut* or Tenant.		Balance of Grain.		Names of the Grains.	Remarks.
	*	*Begahs.*	*Cottahs.*	*Begahs.*	*Cottahs.*	*Begahs.*	*Cottahs.*	*Begahs.*	*Cottahs.*	*Begahs.*	*Cottahs.*	*Maunds.*	*Seers.*	*Maunds.*	*Seers.*	*Maunds.*	*Seers.*		
Sittaram. -	—	—	45	—	25	2	16	—†	7	2	9	17	—	1	20	15	2	Wheat.	† 5 *Cottahs*, in which the ſeed did not produce any crop. ‡ *Cottahs* barren. * This is the additional column propoſed to be introduced into the *Patwary* accounts.
Hurrysuket.	—	—	17	—	18	—	15	—		—	12	4	20	—	15	4	2	Barley.	
Hurjcie Roy.	—	—	15	—	25	—	19	—		—	17	4	10	—	10	4	—	Peaſe.	
Sabuk Roy. -	—	—	19	—	25.	1	4	—‡		1	1	3	—	—	5	2	25	Muſtard	

CHAP. XXI.

On the Use and Abuse of Precedent.

HAVING enlarged on the component parts of *British India* under different syſtems of adminiſtration, it may be expected that I ſhould connect the various deductions into a new and perfect ſyſtem; I profeſſed only to give an analyſis, and if the component parts are truly ſtated, ſyſtem will ariſe from them, inſtead of the eſtabliſhed order of ſociety being ſubverted to adapt them to ſyſtem; for it would be impoſſible to connect in one ſyſtem, the ideal perfection of *Plato* and the practical cruelty of *Aurengzebe*.

In the inſtance of *British India*, the *opinions* of *Great Britain*, by almoſt general conſent, have been led to the feudal ſyſtem as a precedent; I ſhall, therefore, only ſtate the neceſſity of caution in adopting precedent, either for controling the *civil* or *religious* opinions of the natives.

Dr. *Robertſon*, after having given way to the doctrines of Mr. *Rouſe*, concurred in the accepted opinion; and ſays, " I imagine that the ſtate of landed property in *India* might be greatly illuſtrated by an accurate compariſon of it with the nature of feudal tenures; and I apprehend that there might be traced there, a ſucceſſion of changes taking place, much in the ſame order as has been obſerved in *Europe*, from which it might appear that the poſſeſſion of land was granted at firſt during pleaſure, afterwards for life, and at length became perpetual and hereditary: but even after this laſt form, when land is acquired by purchaſe or inheritance, the manner in which the right of property is confirmed and rendered complete, in *Europe* by charter, in *India* by a *Sunnud* from the Sovereign, ſeems to point out what was its original ſtate *."

It certainly would be very deſirable to trace a rule of wiſe adminiſtration from precedent, but, unfortunately, opinions

* Hiſtorical Diſquiſition, p. 346.

have been ſo unfaithfully recorded, nor policy has neceſſarily been ſo much accommodated to prejudices and local circumſtances, or corruptly to peculation and avarice, that it is very difficult from any admitted facts to deduce certain principles; and where ſuch latitude of conſtruction exiſts, the ſame precedent may be ſuited to oppoſite ſyſtems: I have not found one among the writings publiſhed in *Europe*. I have already quoted from *Agricola*'s letters, which contain much uſeful local information ſtated to *Europeans* reſident at *Calcutta*; but cannot follow implicitly that author, who appears to deſpair of a perfect ſyſtem, and to be ready to diſpenſe with fundamental principles, to obtain common juſtice and honeſty under any modification of defective ſyſtem. I can aſſent to *Agricola*'s opinion of the *Mocurrery* plan, but I cannot ſay to the *Eaſt-India* Company *, " in the courſe of my different letters, my opinion in regard to landed property may be pretty clearly inferred; however, I have no objection to ſubſcribe to the idea that

* *Agricola*, Letter 43, p. 290.

the *Zemindars* are the proprietors of the ſoil, inſtead of renters, and confeſs it gave me no ſmall ſatisfaction to find them publicly acknowledged as ſuch, naturally concluding that it was a prelude to their being treated as ſuch; but how ſhall I expreſs my ſurpriſe to ſee this act of generoſity, for on the preſent occaſion I cannot call it policy, made an inſtrument of oppreſſion, unheard of in any country*." I am alſo obliged to diſſent from *Agricola's* political view of the ſyſtem continued by the preſent act. The government of a company by a Board of Control and Parliament, he conſiders a pernicious and deſtructive miniſterial government; whereas, in my opinion, it is the only practicable mode of rendering the control of Parliament effective; for commercial diſputes by the act are to be ſettled between the Board and the Company, by the privy Council; but Parliament muſt decide on the political meaſures of the adminiſtration: ſome proprietors, it is true, may aſſume ſham conſequence, and propoſe reſolutions to attract

* *Agricola*, Letter 25, p. 208.

popularity, but the intereſt of the public and of the Company will not be ſacrificed by the Board of Control according to the caprice of a faction of proprietors, ſo long as the *political* eſtabliſhments are accounted for by the Miniſter to Parliament, not to the Proprietors.

Another difficulty occurred, as to the beſt mode of diffuſing among the inhabitants of *Bitiſh India* a knowledge of our intentions, and the neceſſary intercourſe with the various people included in our empire.

The diſputes on this ſubject need not be very long; a certain number of *Engliſh* muſt learn the language of *India*, or all the natives muſt learn *Engliſh*.

Juſtinian publiſhed in *Greek* becauſe it was the moſt generally underſtood language*, and is a much better rule or

* Noſtra conſtitutio quam pro omne natione *Græca* lingua compoſuimus. *Juſtin.* Inſtit. lib. 3, tit. viii, 3.

Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, *Latina* ſuis finibus exiguis ſane continentur. *Cic. Orat.* pro *Arch.*

precedent than Mr. *Francis*'s ſerious recommendation of obliging the natives of *India* to *learn Engliſh*; "every man then would be able to ſpeak for himſelf, and every complaint would be underſtood *; which opinion he ſupports by a reference to *Forteſcue*, alſo quoted by *Hume* †. "Conſimiliter *Gallici* poſt eorum adventum in *Angliam*, ratiocenia de eorum provenientibus non reciperunt niſi in proprio idiomate, *ne ipſi inde deciperentur* ‡."

By ſome obſervations on this propoſed precedent from the *Engliſh* hiſtory, I will juſtify my opinion of the importance of a judicious ſelection, if we muſt at all events act on precedent.

"King *William* eſtabliſhed a covenant with the people of *Kent* to be received as their *liege lord*, and the people of *Kent* enjoy their ancient liberties, and for evermore enjoy the laws and cuſtoms of the

* Letter from Mr. *Francis* to Lord *North*. *Debrett*, 1793, p. 49.

† *Hume*, Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. I. p. 284.

‡ *Forteſcue*, cap. 48.

country; the reſt of *England* ſubmitted to Bondage*." And, on the attempt to oblige a conquered country to learn the language of the conqueror, the ſame Chronicle obſerves, "here, by the waie, I give you to note a great abſurditie, namelie, that thoſe laws which touched all were, notwithſtanding, written in the *Norman* toong, which the *Engliſhmen* underſtand not; ſo that even at the beginning you would have great numbers, partlie by the iniquitie of the laws, and partlie by ignorance in miſconſtruing the ſame, to be wrongfullie condemned, ſome to death, and ſome in the forfeitures of their goods; others were ſo entangled in ſuites and cauſes, that by no means they knew how to get out, but continually were toſſed from poſt to pillar, in ſuch wiſe, that in their minds they curſed the time that ever ſuch unequal laws were made †." I am ſorry Mr. *Francis* ſhould ſelect from this period of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory the only ſevere mark of conqueſt, by which *William* the Conqueror was under

* *Hollingſhed*'s Chronicle, anno 1067.
† Ibid. Vol. III. page 8.

the neceſſity of extending the foundation of his own power, and of the liberty we now enjoy.

Alfred in the beginning of his reign had ſcarcely the hope of recovering his kingdom. The converſion of the *Danes* to Chriſtianity rendered them valuable ſubjects; the *code* which *Alfred* compoſed, was called the *Weſt Saxon Lage*. "The ravages of the *Danes* had ruined the commonwealth of learning, and frighted the muſes out of the iſland. This barbarous enemy ſeemed to proclaim war againſt ſenſe and underſtanding: they hated to ſee the *Engliſh* better poliſhed than themſelves; and, as they plundered the monaſteries out of covetouſneſs, ſo they burnt the libraries out of envy, that there might be nothing remaining to reproach their ignorance*." When united by Chriſtianity, they obtained indiſcriminate privilege. The Miniſters of Religion, both among the Pagan and Chriſtian *Saxons*, were exempt from all military ſervice, and forbidden the uſe

* *Collier*'s Eccleſ. Hiſt. of England, Vol. I. p. 165.

of arms. The Pagan *Northumbrians* imagined their High Prieſt, *Coefi*, was become mad when they beheld him riding on a horſe with a ſpear in his hand, like a Secular *Thane*; "becauſe they knew it was not lawful for a prieſt to bear arms, or ride upon a horſe *." In 627 he overturned the great temple at *Godmundham* near *York*, and embraced Chriſtianity †. After the battle of *Egginton*, A. D. 878, in which *Alfred* defeated the *Danes*, he aſſigned them lands in *Eaſt Anglia* and *Northumberland* on their embracing Chriſtianity, and made it their intereſt to defend the country they came to plunder ‡; and thereby obtained acceſſion of ſhips and ſailors, with which he fought, with different ſucceſs, againſt other *Daniſh* fleets §. The lands granted by the King and others to the church, were ſubject to military ſervices as other lands, which

* *Bedæ* Hiſt. lib. c. 13.

† Ibid. lib. 2. c. 10.

‡ *W. Malmsb.* lib. 2. c. 4.

§ *Aſſer*, p. 9.

the clergy performed by their *ceorls*, or free tenants *.

Edward the elder enforced the regulations of *Alfred*; "Omnibus qui reipublicæ præſunt, etiam atque etiam mando ut omnibus æquos ſe præbeant judices perinde ac in judiciali libro (Saxonice Doom-bec) ſcriptum habetur, nec quicquam formident, quin jus commune audacter libereque dicant."

Edward the *Confeſſor* was called from his aſylum in *Normandy*, after another *Daniſh* invaſion and conqueſt had introduced foreign cuſtoms, and defaced the polity of the *Weſt-Saxon* law. *Alfred* therefore has properly been denominated the *Inſtitutor*, and *Edward* the Confeſſor the *Reſtitutor Legum.* His code was formed for the ſouthern provinces of *England*; but the northern provinces continued under a different Government †. He combined with *Alfred*'s code, or the *Weſt-Saxon Lage*,

* Reliquiæ Spelman, p. 19. Vide *Henry*'s Hiſtory of England.

† *Blackſtone* Comment, *Hale* Hiſt. 55.

the *Dane Lage* and the *Mereen Lage*, consequently the old *British* customs bore their proportion of weight, and "the provincial polity of counties and their subdivisions, have never been altered or discontinued, through all the shocks and mutations of government, from the time of its first institution; though the laws and customs therein used, have often suffered considerable change.*"

William the *Norman* took a Coronation oath to govern his subjects with clemency and justice, and to treat the *English* as *Normans*; and he proceeded to reduce to obedience the *Northern* provinces, and thereby made *England* in fact one kingdom, under the same law. *Ingulphus*†, who lived at his court, says, he required *charters* to be signed and sealed in wax as well as witnessed, instead of the *English Saxon* custom of setting the figure of a cross, or some religious emblemof the name of *Christ*; in effect it disallowed the incroachments of the Church

* Blackstone, Vol IV, p. 405.
† Ingulphi Histor. p. 70.

and their pretenſions to exemptions; their lands wereregiſtered, under the tenure of Knights ſervice, andentered on a roll with the other lands of the kingdom. It is ſtated,* that in the twentieth year of his reign, King *William* convened the great men and landholders to do homage; by his inqueſt, he had aſcertained the occupants and value of the lands in *Edward* the Confeſſor's time, and their value when granted by his *charters*, and at the period of the Doomſday book. That roll of "Eccleſiaſtical ſervitude," as *M. Paris* calls it, begun in A. D. 1008, and finiſhed in 1086, —for ages "Sigilli regis comes fuit individuus in theſauro," is now in the Chapter-houſe at *Weſtminſter*, and was lately printed. This I believe is a true deſcription of that important record. In diſcuſſions before Parliament, it was ſtated with equal probability, that the cuſtomary of *Normandy* was introduced into *Normandy* from *England* by *Henry* I. when he conquered his brother *Robert*; therefore, ſays *Witlock*, it is not fur-

* Sir *William Martin*'s introduction to the Law of Tenures.

prising that the *English* and *Norman* Code should be found to correspond, and their origin be disputed *. King *William* promised the *Bishop* and *Portreve* of *London*, in the *Saxon* tongue †, to preserve the Laws of *Edward*, and the property of those who were good subjects; and *Holingshed* further observes, that King *William* "brought to pass, that the countrye was so rid of thieves and robbers, as at length a maid might have passed through the land

* *Whitlock's* Memorial, November, 1650.

† *Williem King* grets *Williem Bisceop* and *Godfred Porterefan*, and eall ya *Burgwurn* binnen *London*, *Frencisce*, & *Englise* frendlice, & ic kiden eoy, yeet ic wille yeet get ben ealra weera lagayweord, ye get weeran on *Eadwerds* daege Kings. And ic will yeet aelc child by his fader yrfnume, aefter his faders daege, and ic nelle ge wolian, yeet aenig, man eoy aenis wrang beode God eoy heald.

Wilhelmum Rex salutat *Wilhelmum Episcopum* et *Goffridum Portegresium*, et omnen *Burghware* infra *London*, *Frans.* et *Angl.* amicabiliter, et vobis notum facio quod ego volo quod vos sitis omni lege illa digni qua fuistis *Edwardi* diebus regis, et volo quod omnis puer sit patris sui hæres post diem patris sui, et ego nolo pati quod aliquis homo aliquam injuriam vobis inferat. Deus vos salvet. *Holingshed* Chronicle.

with a bag of gold* and not have met with any misdoer to have bereft her of the same, a thing so strange to consider, sith in the beginning of his reign there were such routs of outlaws and robbers, that the peaceabler people could not be safelie possessed of their own houses, were the same never so well fortified and defended †;" and to the honour of the *Normans*, during their brilliant carreer of two centuries, in *France*, *Italy*, *Sicily*‡, and the *East*, their valour was softened by justice,

In this manner King *William* made a barrier against Papal encroachments, and in a subsequent period the Barons, the Aristocracy of this Country, prevented the Crown from being tempted by temporal dominion, to submit to spiritual servitude.

* *J. Rous.*

† *Holingshed.* Chron. p. 17,

‡ Leges et justiciæ cultus tempore *Gulielmi* secundi vigebat in regno ; sua erat quilibet sorte contentus ; ubique pax, ubique securitas, nec latronum metuabat viator insidias, nec maris nauta offendicula piratarum.

Hist. *Sicul.* Hugo Falcondus, Muratori Collect.

Pope Innocent the Fourth had offered the kingdom of *Sicily* to *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, third Brother to King *Henry* the third, which he refused; and it was then offered to *Henry* the Third, who would not engage in war to depose his Nephew, son of the late Emperor *Frederick*; but when Emperor *Conrade* had put the young *Henry* to death, and seized on *Sicily*, the offer was again made to *Henry* the Third, who accepted it for his son *Edmund*: the *Pope* died, and his successor was defeated by *Manfred*, who was crowned King of the two *Sicilies*; notwithstanding which, *Henry* accepted the title for his son, who was invested in *London*, A. D. 1255. The King was obliged to apply to Parliament, and the Parliament refusing its aid, the King by his Proclamation, and *Pope* by his Bull, enforced the exactions on the laity and clergy of *England*: Parliament again refused, and the King adjourned the Parliament to *Oxford*, where he agreed to the six Articles, called the Provisions or Statutes of *Oxford*, from which he was absolved by *Pope Urban* the Fourth; the Barons then took arms and made the King prisoner,

and writs were issued in the King's name by *Simon Montford*, Earl of *Leicester*; the writs to the Sheriff were *general*, to send two Knights for every Shire; since which period, the right of Citizens and Burgesses to sit in Parliament has never been questioned, though the Commons were not regularly summoned for many years after. In 1265, *Pope Urban* revoked the grant of *Sicily* to Prince *Edmund*, and his successor granted it to *Charles* of *Anjou*, brother to *St. Louis*, King of *France*; and King *Henry*, while in *Leicester's* power, issued a commission in 1265, to renounce the kingdom of *Sicily* in the name of his son *Edmund*. Prince *Edward* defeated *Leicester* and the Barons, at *Evesham*, and the estates of *Leicester*, of *Ferrers* Earl of *Derby*, of *John of Monmouth*, and others were given to Prince *Edmund*, created Earl of *Lancaster*, *Leicester*, *Derby*, and *Champaigne*, which laid the foundation of the greatness of the House of *Lancaster*, thereby increased to such height, that *Henry* of *Bolingbrook*, too powerful for a subject, deposed his cousin german *Richard* the Second, and ascended the throne. Thus in Prince *Edmund*, were

originally founded the great contentions which ſo long ſubſiſted between the two houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; and the democratical part of our Conſtitution acquired a permanent baſis.* It was from a due regard to the three orders of the ſtate, that "in the reign of *Edward* the Firſt, ſtiled the *Engliſh Juſtinian* †, the Law did receive ſo ſudden a perfection, that Sir *Matthew Hale*‡ does not ſcruple to affirm, that more was done in the firſt thirteen years of his reign to ſettle and eſtabliſh the diſtributive juſtice of the kingdom, than in all the ages ſince that time put together."

Hence it will appear, that *Engliſh* hiſtory will afford us inſtruction, notwithſtanding we neglect Mr. *Francis*'s hint of making the natives of *India* learn *Engliſh*. It will be eaſy alſo to trace in the earlieſt periods of *Engliſh* hiſtory, that the *Britiſh* conſidered it an important principle to reject an *impe-*

* *Archaiologia*, Vol. IV. Diſſertation of *T. Aſtle*, Eſq.

† *Blackſtone*, Vol. IV. B. 4. C. 33. *Hale*. Hiſt. C. L. 56.

‡ The Statutes of *Population* of *Henry* the Seventh, of *Retainers*, and of *Alienations*, transferred *power* from the Nobles to the People.

rium in imperio—and yet there are men who hold forth the rude and absurd violence of a *Cade* and a *Tyler*, which our ancestors witnessed with detestation and horror, as laudable examples, and prefer their own comments on the original rights of man, prior to society, to the experience of ages.

The *British* Church so early as A. D. 590, refused to submit to the jurisdiction of *Augustine*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* *; and when *Edward* the *Confessor* sent to *Rome*, to induce *Pope Formosus* to withdraw his Bull of Excommunication against the King and his *English* subjects, for neglect of ecclesiastical administration †; the Cornish men, who were *British*, refused to submit, and took no notice of the *Pope's* authority ‡. The direct intercourse which the Sovereigns of *Europe* had with *Palestine*, immediately after the Conquest, tended to confirm this ancient *British* opinion.

* *Collier's* Ecclesiast. Hist. p. 171.

† *William de Malmsb.* and the Register of the Priory of *Canterbury*.

‡ *Spelman*. Conc. Vol I, p. 387,38.

The first *Kalifs* after *Mahomet* constantly introduced the prayer on Friday with a *Cotbat* or sermon. When the *Kalifs*, having acquired power to combine their sectaries by absolute monarchy, and laid aside preaching in person, the *Imams* concluded the *Cotbat* with a prayer for the *Kalif*; hence the person in whose name the *Cotbut* was delivered was acknowleged Supreme.

The princes of the families of *Buija*, *Seljukids*, and others who revolted from the *Kalifs*, continued to pay them the honour of the Mosque as head of their Church; whereas the *Fatemites* had the *Cotbat* in their own name, whereby they were called *Hereticks* by the other *Mahomedans*. Thus the *Kalifs* of *Bagdad* became mere cyphers, having only the honour of the Mosque, the right of investitures, and of coining money; the tributary Princes of the orthodox *Mahomedans* consequently had very complicated allegiance. The *Cotbat* first mentioned the *Kalif* out of religion, then the *Sultan* out of duty, as sovereign, and then the Prince himself. The coin bore the *Kalif*'s name on one side, and the *Sultan*'s on the other; under this form all the

Mahomedan Princes in *Meſſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, reduced their ſyſtem in 1250, after the death of *Moadzam Turan Shah*, the laſt of the family of the *Ayubites*, ſucceſſors of *Saladin*, who was killed by his own people, while *St. Louis*, King of *France*, was in priſon; at which period the *Kalifat* and *Cotbat* ceaſed; the conſequences of which political event King *Edward* I. witneſſed in *Paleſtine*.

The *Turkiſh* and *Circaſſian Mamluck Tartars* revived both nominally, till the death and defeat of *Tumam-bey*, the twenty-third and laſt *Circaſſian Sultaun*, who was hanged by the order of *Selim*, the Emperor of the *Turks*, in 1515, ſince which the *Mufti* has been eſtabliſhed. The fluctuation of *Mahomedan* ſymbols of ſovereignty, marks them to be of little political importance, and of much practical inconvenience. The *Moguls* who conquered *Hindoſtan* were of the ſect of *Omar*, and the principal people who became the chiefs in the *Mogul* Court, and thoſe who came at the *Perſian* Invaſion, were of the ſect of *Ali*, and differed totally in their cuſtoms and religion,

from *Hindoos.* I will purſue the obſervation a little further, to draw another concluſion.

The *Saracens*, who overran *Spain* and *Sicily*, made the firſt attempt againſt *Spain* when the King of the *Viſigoths* appeared in his greateſt power; *Monteſquieu* * ſuppoſes the rapid diſuſe of the *Viſigoth* Law in *Spain* to be the conſequence of ignorance in writing; but it appears to have ariſen from more natural cauſes. The *Viſigoth* Kings had aboliſhed not only the written *Roman* Law, but the cuſtomary Law of the natives of *Spain* †, and were particularly ſevere againſt the *Jews*, who formed a conſiderable part of the natives, living under the *Roman* Law; a general revolt was theco nſequence; the *Jews* invited the *Saracens*; and though *Womba* ſubdued the revolters, he dared not puniſh them; a few years afterwards the *Saracens* conquered *Spain*, and the kingdom conformed to a cuſtomary law.

* Monteſquieu Liv. 28, c. xii.

† *Loix des Wiſigoths.* L. 2. Tit. 1. § 9.

From theſe, as from numberleſs examples in the hiſtory of mankind, we may know, whenever laws are founded in juſtice, and applicable to the habits of a civilized ſociety, whether they are written or traditional, they will be remembered with ſuperſtitious veneration; and it will always be idle to imagine it poſſible to eſtabliſh the *fiction* of any defective government, without realiſing, in a many-fold degree, all the defects incident to that ſyſtem for which reaſon the fiction of hereditary fiefs, with a continuation of the inequality of *freda*, which the plan of ſettlement of 1776, for *Bengal*, would have eſtabliſhed; and the definition of the *Liege Lords* by the the ten-years ſettlement now exiſting in *Bengal*, cannot ever produce either feodal dependance, or political dependance; from the ſame cauſe that the *Salique* Law had no effect in the ſecond race of *French* Kings, when there was no Common Law becauſe nobody could enforce Common Law; and in the third race the ſovereign did not even think it worth while to inſert in the Charters his right to ſuperintend the judicature: whatever we

may do in ſupport of the Revenue Laws, during the ten years ſettlement of 1789*, the reſerved rent will operate as the *fredum* to the *Zemindar*; and the *freda* to the tenantry being arbitrary, and in no degree defined or controled, but depending on the caprice of the *Zemindar*, the whole body of tenantry or *Reyuts* muſt be enſlaved. Political fiction therefore ought never to be uſed by conſiderate men, except, after the moſt diligent inveſtigation and inquiry, it ſhall appear, that the people to be governed are either ſo ignorant and barbarous, or ſo profligate from licencioufneſs and irreligion, that it is impoſſible, without ſacrificing all order and ſecurity, to apply to them the rule which Sir *William Temple*, and others†, who do not deſpiſe the experience of mankind in ſociety, admit, that "thoſe forms are beſt which have been longeſt received and authorized in a nation, by cuſtom or uſe, and into which the humours and manners of the people run in the moſt general current." On the ſame principle and conſideration, the correction of a

* Monteſquiu, L. 28, C. 9.
† *Polybius*. Hiſt. Lib. 10, § 23.

defective syſtem requires a diſpaſſionate and patient inveſtigation, becauſe all experimental reforms are calamitous to a people, whenever their preſſure is neither analogous to their cuſtoms, nor defined by written or traditional reaſon, nor ariſing from ſound policy or real neceſſity. I ſincerely wiſh that the *Britiſh* Courts of Law may be for ever revered in *Great Britain*, where they are adequate to their beneficial objects; and as ſincerely I hope that the practice of the *Engliſh* Courts may be excluded from *Britiſh India*. If a *raſh* experiment of reform had not aboliſhed, a few years ago, the *Board* of *Trade* and *Plantations*, which the joint labour of a Committee or Board of Council, and a Board of Agriculture as now conſtituted, will never replace, I might have referred to its records, to point out the neceſſity of abſolutely defining, in the moſt minute detail, the inſtructions to every practitioner of the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, detached to adminiſter the Law of *England*. In the ſmalleſt government on the Coaſt of *Africa*, an inſtance occurred of one Lawyer, with a Clerk, exhibiting the forms of the various

Courts of *Westminster*, with their relative appeals, and by indefatigable attendance on the ſuitors, both in and out of Court, made the moſt of every cauſe conſiſtantly with official precedent of *Engliſh* practice; a ridicule which was of ſhort duration from the repreſentation of that Board; the chances of ſimilar abſurdity muſt not exiſt; but the hopes of checking oppreſſion, may reaſonably be expected in *India* from *Engliſh* gentlemen, who, on a proper examination, ſhall be found, by their education and knowlege of the language, to be qualified to ſuperintend a diſtrict in *India*, and to act as Juſtice of the Peace, with a *written Code*, founded on old principles, with reſpect to the rights and habits of the natives; for we cannot ſay at this time more than at any former period, appoint good men, and they will make good Laws; but give good orders, and they will make good men. If it ſhould be objected that ſuch juriſdiction will reſemble our County Courts, I ſhall only beg preciſion as to the period at which the precedent is to be taken; if from the early period when the Earl or Sheriff in *perſon* preſided, and

the Jufticiary Courts were ill adminiftered, I fhall admit the precedent to be applicable; but by no means fhould we make it refemble the modern County Courts, in which any Attorney, as deputy to the Sheriff, officiates in the court, extended by the Writ of *Jufticies* to a juridiction oppreffive beyond the common limited County Courts, and unneceffarily fo, fince the *Jufticiary Courts* are duely adminiftered: the low practice of the Law is the lumber and difgrace of *Britifh* Judicature.

The good fortune of *Great Britain* has urged her to repel innovations; the old *Britifh* Cuftoms, *Common Law*, dictated by *reafon*, whether derived from *Phœnician* or *Gaulic* polity, has influenced every period of *Britifh* reform, particularly in the twelfth century, when every other part of *Europe* yielded to the *Roman* Law. The ingenuity and art of fubfequent attempts to evade it, particularly by mifapplying precedents of feudal fyftem, and of *Roman* Law, to eftablifh an ecclefiaftical *imperium et imperio*, are concifely and

ably ſtated by *Blackſtone* *, in his Commentaries, in which he does juſtice to the vigorous and ſucceſsful defence of the *Britiſh* Parliament, which has maintained the independance, and unity of the Conſtitution. I have ſtated the proceedings of Parliament, to check the late attempt ſince our acquiſition of territory in *India* by a trading company collectively, and colluſively, by individual proprietors or ſervants, to inſtitute the worſt ſort of eluſion; this commercial plot, like the former deeper plan of clerical management, proved but a bubble when the eyes of Parliament were opened, and the people ſet themſelves with vigour to oppoſe it; "ſo vain and ridiculous," ſays *Blackſtone* †, "is the attempt to live in ſociety, without acknowleging the obligations which it lays us under, and to affect an entire independance of that Civil State, which protects us in all our Rights, and gives us every other liberty, that only excepted, of deſpiſing the Laws of the Community."

* *Blackſtone's* Comment. B. 2. c. 18. B. 4. c. 8.
† ——— Vol. IV. p. 109.

We have infinite obligation to the gentlemen who have devoted their time to the ſtudy of the *Sanſcrit*; and the tranſlations of the books preſerved in that ancient language will not prove an unprofitable addition to the hiſtory of mankind and of literature: but we are not to expect a ſubſtitute for the valuable remains of ancient hiſtory which we poſſeſs, but a valuable illuſtration of its moſt obſcure parts. We have not now to learn that mythology is inſtruction conveyed in a tale, on which, if we meditate with the judgement of a *Bacon*, we may learn the *wiſdom* of the *ancients*; but, if we view it through the medium of ignorant prejudice, we ſhall come within the obſervation of a *Hindoo* writer, "that whoever obſtinately adheres to any ſet of opinions, may bring himſelf to believe the freſheſt ſandal wood is a flame of fire*." Information from Eaſtern or from Weſtern mythology, connected with hiſtory, will ſhew that it has been often miſunderſtood and miſapplied, but not in a greater degree than eloquence and

* Aſiatic Reſearches, Vol. I. p. 224.

poetic fiction to ridicule virtue and religion, the bulwarks of a free nation, or to direct the daggers of sedition to lacerate the vitals of the constitution, and the bonds of social habits. I cannot assume other pretensions, than arise from a patient investigation of the proceedings of *British* administration, and from their own statements, to make conclusions apparent, which are smothered in the voluminous bulk of *Indian* records; and however imperfect my practical application may be, it will, I hope, have a better chance of being dispassionately reviewed, from my having steered clear of all party and personal considerations,—literally in the degree I had prescribed to myself, never having seen the alarming extent of the work together, until its detached parts returned from the press; and I regret, on account of the natives of *India* and of this country, that the *brullion* and the impression require much correction of the indulgent reader: without quitting the humble station of a fellow labourer, I venture even to guide, when, from experiencing the defects of informa-

tion, I solicit in behalf of myself and the public, the farther aid of the learned.

The President of the *Asiatic* Society, whose personal knowledge opens to him a wider field of inquiry than, perhaps, falls to the lot of any of his cotemporaries, has begun his instruction as to the connection of the theology of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India* "without pursuing a very regular method, but took the Gods, of whom he discourses, as they happened to present themselves *;" and with no other *European* book to refresh his memory of old fables, except the conceited, though not unlearned, *Pomey*, entitled the *Pantheon* †. And on the subject of religion he truly adduces the sad obstacles to the general extension of our pure faith in *Hindostan*, arising from the veneration for *Mahomed* and *Ali*,‡ both extraordinary men; the one as a politic reformer; and the latter as a man of unexceptionable character: and the probability

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 225.
† Ibid. Vol. I. p. 224,
‡ Ibid. p. 474.

of the *Hindoos* being readily induced to admit the gospel, though unprofitably, from their belief and conviction that it is perfectly consistent with their *Sastras*, though different in form, and will be equally acceptable if they be sincere in substance *, I shall venture to predict that much substantial illustration will come from that learned and respectable man, whenever his leisure shall enable him to arrange his store of universal knowledge; and he will bring to our view the present real relation of *Christians* to *Mahomedans*. We know that *Mahomed* gave express orders to his captains to conciliate the Christians; and that the *Nestorian* Christians, by their submission, obtained peculiar indulgence; and as *Emir Cond*, in his History of *Ali*, tells us, this *Kalif*, disputing with a Christian Monk, so clearly, from the gospel, convinced him that *Mahomed* was the *Paraclete* or Comforter promised by *Christ*, that the Monk embraced *Mahomedism* †: and the *Nestorian* Christians continued in

* Asiatic Researches. Vol. I, p. 274.

† Dessert. of *Eusebius Renaudot*, p. 171.

high estimation at the court of *Bagdad*, particularly in the reign of *Kalif Almamun*, who employed them in the translation of the ancient *Greek* books into *Arabic* *. We also know how differently the *Propaganda* endeavoured to establish their influence in the court of *Akber*, who built a church for the Christians at *Agra*, and granted them privileges, which were confirmed by *Jahan Guire* in 1604.

The work *Xavier*, containing the history of Christ from the legends of the Church of *Rome*, presented in *Persian* to the Emperor, in 1602, was translated and published in *Europe*, in 1639, by *De Dieu*; and the illustration of that work against *Mahomedism*, by another book of *Zavier*, called *the Looking Glass shewing the Truth*, was answered by a *Persian* gentleman, *Ahmed Ebn Zin Alabedin*, whose book, called *the Brusher of the Looking Glass*, exposed the idolatry and superstitious errors by which the Jesuits' illustration disfigured the doctrine of Christ †. Subsequent answers

* Differt. of *Eusebius Renaudot*, p. 111.

† *Prideaux*, the true Nature of Imposture, p. 156.

of the *Propaganda*, drawn from authorities of Popes and Councils, could never convince a *Mahomedan* of the truth of the Christian religion.

As to the *Hindoos*, Sir *William Jones* having particularised *Isaiah*, among the most likely parts of the bible, to influence the opinions of the natives, I venture to state in one observation all that I wish to suggest; because, as we should learn, so should we teach.

The infinite number of allegorical symbols degenerate into mere jugglers' tricks, when separated from the principles to which they belong. If the number of symbols in the most extended polytheism was doubled, they are all reducible to two theories; the one admitting one omnipotent universally pervading principle, the other dividing the principle into two omnipotent and contrary principles of good and evil.

The Book of *Job*, by those who can judge of the original, has been allowed to

be a moral dramatic poem*, addreſſed to the Jews immediately after they had been led by *Moſes* out of *Egypt*; and its object was evidently to refute the doctrine of two principles, then prevalent among the inhabitants of the Land of Promiſe. It is no improbable expectation that this venerable record may operate conviction on ſuch people as are deſcribed in *Sacontala*; for the *Bramins* in that drama correſpond with the account *Clearchus* gave of his maſter *Ariſtotle*'s opinion of the Jews, whoſe origin he traced from the philoſophers of *India*, called *Celanoi*; the remarkable circumſtances of whoſe diet and chaſtity † diſtinguiſhed the *Eſſenes*, the only one of the three ſects of Jews againſt whom the *Meſſiah* did not utter one reproach, when he "reſiſted with equal firmneſs the haughty ſcepticiſm of the *Sadducees*, and the abject ſuperſtition of the *Phariſees*."

We are told, in ancient times, if a Jew landed in *Cyprus* he would have been killed: it is not from a Jew we would ex-

* *Weſley* in *Jobum* Diſſert. 3.
† *Joſephus*, p. 1347.

pect a fair representation of the religion of *Cyprus*. In the ſame manner I can ſuppoſe exiſting rancour from oppoſite doctrines moderated by the Bramahical ſyſtem into toleration, though I do not ſee any traces of ſuch information in the Aſiatic Reſearches; and ſhould Mr. *La Flotte* have adopted errors from the manuſcript compiled by order of Monſ. *Porcher*, Governor of *Karical*, which was brought to *Pondicherry*, in 1767, they remain to be diſproved; I muſt adopt the facts which he witneſſed every day in the neighbourhood of *Pondicherry*, as to the extreme difference in worſhip and opinion between the diſciples of *Siva* and the diſciples of *Viſhnu* *, and the extenſive worſhip of *Lingam*, connected with the worſhip of *Routren*, in the ſouthern peninſula of *India*. And when I ſee, in the preface to the Revenue Regulations of *Tippoo*, that no perſon in *Calcutta* was acquainted with the *Telinga*, or *Malabar* dialect, it will ſhew how little qualified we are, as yet, to decide on the hiſtory,

* Eſſais Hiſtor. de l'*Inde* par M. *La Flotte*. *Paris*, 1769.

religion, and cuſtoms of the natives. In tracing theories, we ſhould not forget that the trade through the centre of *India* was carried on by Chriſtian *Armenians*, at leaſt ſince the period of *Akbar*; and that the Jews and Arabs, from very remote and early periods, have been favoured on the coaſts of *Malabar* and the ſouthern peninſula of *India*, and carried on trade by ſea to *China**: we muſt, therefore, not limit our inquiry to one ſect, nor adopt one ſevere rule of ſelection, for we may expect inſtruction both from the *Hindoos* and from the *Mahomedans*.

"Time was," ſays a ſagacious *Rabbi* †, "when the whole earth was covered with blindneſs and error, ſome few of the *Patriarchs* only excepted. One nation ſaid there was no *firſt cauſe*, nor any part of the univerſe that could with greater propriety call itſelf a creature than a creator,

* Account of two *Mahomedan* Travellers, illuſtrated by *Euſebius Renaudot*.

† *Rabbi Juda*, the *Levite*, author of the excellent dialogue inſcribed *Cozary*, quoted in the letters concerning Mythology, p. 391.

ſince the whole was *eternal:* another ſaid, the *Empyreum*, or celeſtial ſphere, was eternal, the author of all things; and adored it accordingly: a third believed that *fire* was the ſubſtance and cauſe of light, and of the ſtupendous productions we ſee in the world, for which they adored it, and ſaid the *ſoul* too was *fire:* others, and the greater part, worſhiped the *ſun*, the *moon*, the *planets*, and the figures of *animals* formed in likeneſs to thoſe in the Zodiac: others worſhiped their *Princes*, or their wiſe men; and all agreed, that it was impoſſible for any thing in the world to ſwerve from the courſe of nature.

" Things continued in this ſtate until the *philoſophers*, men of a fine ſubtle wit and profound meditation, diſcovered and confeſſed that there muſt be a *firſt cauſe*, *almighty* and *ſupreme*, whom no created being can reſemble; but they erred in the progreſs of their reaſoning, ſaying, that though *God* created, he does not now operate in the world in general, much leſs in individuals, nor direct particular events, which they thought too mean to fall under

the cognizance of ſo exalted a being, eſpecially as he never innovates, nor alters their original nature."

So far, both a Jew and a Chriſtian can agree; and though the Jew may incline not to extend his obſervation beyond the period of *Epicurus*, a Chriſtian will readily admit that it is the orbit traced by the human mind; and as " the power ariſing from ſtrength is always in thoſe that are governed, who are many; but authority ariſing from opinion is in thoſe that govern, who are few*," it is a moſt important conſideration to revere that ſound philoſophy which has preſerved to this country its ancient ſimplicity in belief and worſhip; and while we ſtand firmly againſt infidelity and licencioufneſs, to guard againſt the mixture of ſuperſtition with theology, " a folly the rather to be reſtrained, becauſe from the unwholeſome mixture of things, human and divine, ariſes not only a fantaſtic philoſophy, but an heretical religion; 'tis therefore the moſt ſalutary method to

* Sir *William Temple.*

apply *Faith only in matters that to Faith belong**."

Previous to the light of the *gospel*, mankind was led to their spiritual good by their temporal interest. When *Jeremiah* upbraided the people of *Israel*, it was for their folly and ingratitude: "Hath any nation changed their gods which yet are no gods? but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit." In process of time the most plain and interesting parts of the law were obscured, *weighty matters* were glossed over by trivial ceremonials, in a degree that "made the word of *God* of none effect through their traditions †:" then the words of *Isaiah* alone might have disposed men to abate their pride when they looked for a Messiah. "He shall grow up as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground; he hath no form or comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him: he is despised and rejected of

* *Bacon*, Nov. Organ. Aphor. 65.
† *Matthew*, chap. vii. ver. 13.

men; a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief; and we hid, as it were, our faces from him: he was deſpiſed, and we eſteemed him not *." Truly has a learned writer ſaid, that the clergy of the church of *England* "more eſpecially have aſſerted, with growing confidence, her ſuperiority over all other eſtabliſhments; ſhe has been enabled to reſiſt the unkind and unfair aſſaults that have been made againſt her doctrines; ſhe has ſeen in her friends a conſtant increaſe of ſound knowledge, which ever draws onwards in its train an increaſe of good morals." The compariſon of *Mahomediſm* and *Chriſtianity*, in their hiſtory, their evidence, and their effects †, may be adduced among the proofs that the children of wiſdom render eſſential ſervice to religion; and while "they ſearch all things, they hold faſt that which is good;" it glances at the influence of ſuperſtition over the *Pagan* world, "and both elucidates and juſtifies the biographical form in

* *Iſaiah*, chap. 53, ver. 23.

† Sermons at the *Bampton* Lecture, by *J. White*, Profeſſor of *Arabic*, p. 206.

which revelation is conveyed to us: God, it is true, might have made known to us his will by a ſeries of laws, by abſtract reaſonings, by ſhort inſtructive ſentences, by copious aud regular ſyſtems, or by any of the various modes of human compoſition; but Chriſtianity aims at a nobler end, and purſues it by the moſt proper and efficacious methods. We read, indeed, the opinions and belief of *Socrates*, and the commands and promiſes of *Mahomet*, but by *Jeſus Chriſt*, virtue, in every kind and in every degree, is exemplified as well as taught: he is the pattern as well as the teacher of the duties we are to perform; his precepts ſhew us what we ought to practiſe; his conduct convinces us that it is practicable, and the rewards which he has offered are powerful incentives to us to practiſe it, from the beſt motives, and in the beſt manner. His reſurrection from the grave confirms our faith; his aſcenſion to glory animates our hopes; the actions of his life, and the circumſtances of his death, enlarge and invigorate our charity: by theſe means all the parts of Chriſtianity, form one great and conſiſtent whole,

every moral rule is realifed, and becomes a proof of religious truth, while every religious truth, in its turn, illuftrates and enforces every moral rule. The actions of God himfelf are indeed invifible; thofe of men are imperfect; but the actions of *Chrift* (confidered in his human character) are both vifible and perfect; they are level to our apprehenfions, and moft worthy our imitation. Religion is thus made intelligible to all, becaufe all are bound to obey it; it is accompanied by a fpecies of demonftration which the meaneft cannot mifunderftand; it is recommended by fuch an inftance of its beauty and its ufefulnefs, as is calculated to remove every fcruple and to filence every objection."

The refearches of another learned divine *, have tended to encourage thofe who are infenfible to the ufe of hiftory, to know " that one of the nobleft ufes which can be made of Chriftian antiquities would be, to learn wifdom and moderation from

* Preface to *Jortin's* Remarks on Ecclefiaftical Hiftory.

the faults, indiſcretions, and follies; and from the prudence, charity, and piety of our predeceſſors, to obſerve carefully what was good and what was blameable in remoter ages; and thence to improve ourſelves, as we are a Chriſtian nation, by removing the blemiſhes and defects from which, perhaps, we are not free; and by adopting every thing commendable which we may have neglected: a Chriſtian ſociety, formed upon ſuch a plan, would not altogether anſwer the fair and bright idea which the imagination repreſents, becauſe perfection dwells not here below, and ſome bad materials muſt of neceſſity enter into the human ſtructure; but it would be more than a faint copy and image of that church which the beloved diſciple had the pleaſure to ſee "coming down from heaven, prepared as a bride adorned by her huſband, who had no need of the ſun, neither of the moon to ſhine on it, for the glory of God did enlighten it, and the lamb was the light thereof*:" for this excellent end and purpoſe the Divine Pro-

* Revelations, chap. xx.

vidence ſeems to have preſerved eccleſiaſtical records, and has commanded devouring time to reſpect them, that poſterity might receive inſtruction from thoſe venerable and ſilent monitors, and not want examples to ſhun and to follow." When Dr. *Jortin* publiſhed his remarks in 1751, having taken notice of the propoſal of *Plotinus* to the Emperor *Gallienus*, as *Porphyry* relates, to rebuild a ruined city in *Campania* for philoſophers, intending to dwell there himſelf, and to eſtabliſh *Plato*'s republic, he obſerved that a republic of modern deiſts and moral philoſophers would be a great curioſity; but when he adverted to the laſt ſtage of infidelity, and of the argument of *Bayle*, that an atheiſt is preferable to an idolater, by which *Monteſquieu* ſays he meant, it would be leſs dangerous to have no religion at all than a bad one, he remarked, that the polity incident to ſuch irreligion muſt be looked for and viewed in the poets. The *Cyclops* of *Homer* were without religion, obedience, civility, or reſpect to each other; they ruled their wives and children as they thought fit, and deſtroyed all ſtragglers that fell in

their hands*: little did that learned author imagine that *Bayle*'s infidelity was to be ſurpaſſed, and that the incorrectneſs of a *French* tranſlator in the title of a treatiſe of *Philo Judæus*, omnis bonus, liber eſt; tout livre eſt bon, which had excited a ſmile of contempt, ſhould be ſuperſtitiouſly adopted by his countrymen, and even by *Engliſh* tavern friends to the liberty of the preſs, who endanger its real liberty by encouraging its licencıouſneſs: but it is a pity that men of eminent talents ſhould not remember an old ſaying, "that a ſcorner ſeeketh wiſdom and finds it not†;" aptly applied by another eminent divine‡ when he pointed out the errors in hiſtory and chronology by which Lord *Bolingbroke* ſupported his flippant remarks on the ſcriptures: his Lordſhip's own words in the famous diſſertation on parties atone for his error, by the moſt direct and juſt condemnation of ſimilar conduct.

* Odyſſey, v. 273,

† Proverbs, chap. xiv, ver. 6.

‡ *Newton* on the Prophecies, p. 34.

"Some men there are the pests of society, I think them, who pretend a great regard to religion in general, but who take every opportunity of declaiming publicly against that system of religion, or at least against that church establishment which is received in *Britain*, that they are incessant in their endeavours to puzzle the plainest thing in the world, and to refine and distinguish away the life and strength of our constitution in favour of the little, present, momentary turns, which they are retained to serve. What now would be the consequence if all these endeavours should succeed? I am persuaded that the great philosophers, divines, lawyers, and politicians who exert them, have not yet prepared and agreed upon the plans of a new religion, and of new constitutions in church and state; we should find ourselves therefore without any form of religion, or civil government; the first set of missionaries would take off the restraints of religion from the governed, and the latter would soon remove, or render ineffectual, all the limitations and controls which liberty hath prescribed to those that govern, and disjoint

the whole frame of our conſtitution; entire diſſolution of manners, confuſion, anarchy, or, perhaps, *abſolute monarchy*, would follow; for it is poſſible, nay *probable*, that amidſt ſuch a rout of lawleſs ſavages, men would chuſe that government, abſurd as it is, rather than have no government at all *."

Theſe comments may appear foreign to the ſubject of *Britiſh India*; they are, however, in my opinion, neceſſary to be remembered by thoſe who legiſlate, and by thoſe who meditate on the law to be preſcribed to *Britiſh India*; they are congenial to the *Britiſh* character, becauſe the eſtabliſhed religion, and the eſtabliſhed law of *England*, have the peculiar bleſſing of being in uniſon with the true principles of Chriſtianity, in a degree beyond other Chriſtian nations, whoſe law partakes more of the rigour of the *Roman* law †; its influence appears in the diſcrimination which this nation has ſhewn on the diſaſtrous

* *Bolingbroke*'s Diſſertation on Parties.

† Leges Romanæ duriores erant quam lenitas Chriſtiana patiatur. Grot. de Jure Belli. 1. 11. ſec. 4.

crisis of the *French* monarchy, by receiving as brethren those only who are respectable, by suffering poverty and banishment for conscience sake, and whose age and infirmity render them unable to resist by arms the new system of tyranny and irreligion: the patriarchal dignity of the Bishop *St. Pol de Leon*, and the correct life and deportment of the proscribed clergy, must, to a reflecting mind, quicken its sensibility for the millions of well disposed inhabitants of *France* who are sacrificed by unexampled assassination essential to the introduction of the new system; but must not the same reflection excite a degree of honest indignation against those who know the means by which society has been unhinged, property violated, and religion destroyed, and reconcile it to their honour and their conscience to excite a savage lawless democracy* and inordination to outstretch the indulgence of the law by systematic violation of its principles, and to weaken the energy necessary in the moment, by the same management which weakened the

* Δημοκρατια δε ὁ θυμος και χειροκρατιας. Polyb. Hist. p. 638.

executive force of *Great Britain* in the laſt war, on a then leſs queſtionable principle of diffuſing *real* liberty; for no man can be ſo uninformed as not to know, that not only the liberty of *Europe*, but the liberty of *America*, the influence of religion, the ſecurity of property, and the happineſs of the preſent and future generations are equally involved in the preſent cauſe, which, if not ſucceſsfully oppoſed, will have worſe conſequences than when the irruption of the northern hordes

———————— " of loſt mankind,
Drove martial horde on horde with dreadful ſweep,
And gave the vanquiſh'd world another form *."

The public opinion and the law of the land being in uniſon, the meaſures of deſperate men appear to be peculiarly and dangerouſly regulated by legal ſubtlety and political advice, now tortured to miſlead and confound public opinion; the following will ſhew plainly their plan, when they think caution leſs neceſſary. In a letter I received from *India*, dated March, 1793, is the following paſſage:

* *Thomſon.*

" There is ſuch a rapid ſucceſſion of revolutions in *France* that there is no following them with conjectures; they are now, as a republic, more in union with their principles than when they retained a King; the violences which are perpetrated by their mob, who are clearly only inſtruments in the hands of vicious, worthleſs men, excite horror and deteſtation. You would ſcarcely ſuppoſe that any of the ſeditious men you have at home, would be induſtrious enough to ſend any of the infernal ſeeds to this country; but certain it is, that a Mr. *Cooper*, I believe, of *Mancheſter*, has written a moſt extraordinary letter to Mr. * * * *, one of our chaplains, wherein he expreſſes, in the plaineſt terms, his ſatisfaction that religion of every denomination is ſcouted in *France*, and his hope that it will very ſoon be totally aboliſhed throughout the world; he ſeems to look with pleaſure to the decapitation of the King and " eke his Queen ;" he ſays that he has written a book againſt monarchy and Kings, from which he expects to derive reputation as a writer: I wiſh that gentleman was ſent to *Botany Bay*."

The above extract contains the summary of *French* doctrines, promulgated by those who insolently constitute themselves the delegates and voice of reformation which are to *awaken* the people of *England* to a co-operation with the *French* regicides; it also contains the hearty wish of every insulted *Englishman*, in all quarters of the globe, who can estimate the degree of impiety and treason couched in the doctrine. The critical situation of *Europe* under its most calamitous aspect, at least imposes a fortunate necessity of rejecting half measures, and will occasion an unequivocal separation of those men who, by desperate ambition or principles, or infatuation, can palliate or adopt such diabolical tenets, from those who thankfully acknowledge the blessings of true liberty, and can submit to fear God and honour the King. During the last century, a struggle to maintain the established church of *England*, traced with blood the political circle, which *Polybius* * so well describes; since that period *Great Britain* has increased in

* Αυτη πολιτειων ανακυκλωσις. Polyb. Hist. p. 637.

power and in riches; the *Carthaginians* heretofore ſtood " the only people in the univerſe upon whom immenſe wealth was never able to work its uſual effect;" they were never accuſed of luxury or effeminacy: I have entire confidence that at preſent, as well as on any future criſis, we ſhall revive a bright example by aſſerting the true religion of our fathers, and the principles of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution as ſettled at the revolution, after being preſerved by piecemeal at different periods by deluges of noble blood; they muſt ſtand or fall together: for " if, as is unqueſtionably the caſe, laws are vain without morals, the well-being of every nation depends as much on its virtue as upon its laws. Slow the ſteps may be by which the deſtruction of the moſt profligate people advances; as the moſt intemperate man may be ſeveral years before he ruins his conſtitution; but the event in each caſe is alike certain. It is as certain that vice will at laſt deſtroy any ſtate, as that it will any individual." Even at the period of the revolution, " the civil liberties to which we were reſtored being uſed as a

cloak of maliciousness, and the most horrid doctrines subversive of all religion, being publicly avowed both in discourse and writings, it was found necessary again for the civil power to interpose, by not admitting those miscreants to the privileges of society, who maintained such principles as destroyed all moral obligations; to this end the statute of 8th and 10th King *William* III., cap. 32, was passed *." The responsibility of the constitution for the repression of violent and flagrant assaults on the established church, has enabled *Great Britain* to give toleration in the widest extent that spiritual considerations can require, connected with the most extended civil liberty.

I have now adduced more than I proposed when I undertook to give a political analysis of *British India*; I have traced principles to render them intelligible, without reviving the private or public interests and animosities which divided and guided the attention of *Great Britain* during its progress to empire; I have, with

* *Blackstone's* Commentaries.

equal firmnefs, and, I hope, candour, refifted the unfounded affumptions of the fupporters and advifers of adminiftration, and the unfounded cenfure of its opponents; I have referred to known authorities, and in general have adopted their words, it being more important to ftate accurately the extent to which I adopt their facts, without pledging myfelf to admit all their conclufions; and I have, with equal fairnefs, adduced, as far as poffible, in their own words, the hints for practical adminiftration, which, for fome years paft, I had ftored from found information of honourable and fenfible men: the few who are alive will not require a formal apology from me for having diffufed their information without their knowledge; but in the inveftigation of truth its friends muft be drawn forth; "in quo tamen ego quid eniti, aut efficere poffim, malo in aliorum fpe relinquere quam in oratione ponere mea*."

With refpect to the gentlemen nominated for the fupervifion and for the admini-

* *Cic.* Orat. in *Q. Cæcil.*

ſtration of *Britiſh India*, and to the gentlemen who ſtand forth to cenſure or amend, (I cannot adduce words of leſs authority than of Lord *Clive)* " they are the beſt judges whether their abilities and integrity are equal to the important ſervice in which they engage; had they known the *Eaſt Indies* as well as I do, they would ſhudder at the bare idea of ſuch perplexing and difficult ſervice; the moſt rigid integrity, with the greateſt diſintereſtedneſs, the greateſt abilities, with reſolution and perſeverance, muſt be united in the man or men who undertake to reform the accumulating evils which exiſt in *Bengal*, and which threaten to involve the nation and the Company in one common ruin *:" I now conclude with a ſincere, and, I hope, well-founded wiſh, that a vigorous and judicious adminiſtration, with the powers veſted by the act of 1793, may for ever maintain the principles of proſperity and union in *Great Britain* and in *Britiſh India.*

* Lord *Clive*. Debate, in 1773, on ſending ſupervisors to *India*. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXIV. p. 185.

THE END.